Friedman on Freedom's Fate

reason

Free Minds and Free Markets

June 1987 | $2.00

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A Debate on the Reagan Doctrine

Christian Crusaders

Rock Rebels

Fragmented Families

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Free Minds and Free Markets

June 1987/Vol. 19, No. 2

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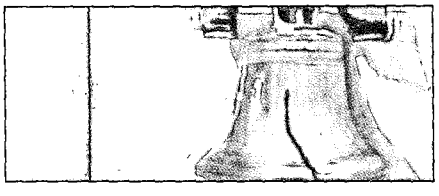

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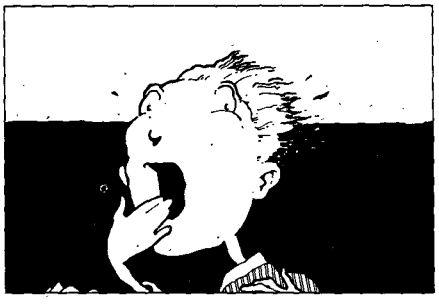

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Manhattan Institute Forum

Europe On $134 Billion a Year

"NATO was formed to make weak allies strong but instead it has had the opposite effect: It has made potentially strong allies weak." So states Hoover Fellow Melvyn Krauss. In *How NATO Weakens the West*, Krauss makes the case that America's costly participation in NATO is counterproductive in combatting Soviet expansionism. Strategic parity between the United States and the USSR has invalidated the American "nuclear umbrella," he contends, while Western Europe, unwilling to build an adequate conventional defense of its own, has adopted "detente as defense."

Meanwhile, U.S. acceptance of Atlantic unity as a pre-eminent foreign policy objective has given the Europeans considerable leverage on American decisions. Krauss concludes that a strong commitment to resisting Soviet aggression and terrorism can come about only when Western Europe takes responsibility for its own defense.

How NATO Weakens the West
by **Melvyn Krauss**
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upfront

The Main Difference

If you're reading this at a newsstand (just buy the magazine, will you buddy?), leaf through our neighboring journals of political opinion. Those that aren't laden with column after column of grey ink generally illustrate their articles with flattering PR-office photographs of our "leaders" or an occasional sketch or cartoon. Art work is rare. (*The Atlantic, Mother Jones,* and *The Progressive* are notable exceptions.)

We patrons of the arts at REASON are another exception. Illustrations and photographs, some in vivid life-color, are sprinkled throughout the text. Presiding over REASON's grooming since 1984 has been Art Director Laura Main, a product of the arty California Polytechnic University at San Luis Obispo.

A few vital art statistics about Ms. Main: Her favorite artists are Jasper Johns, Robert Rauschenberg, Andy Warhol, and Francesco Clemente. Her favorite writers are William Kennedy, John McPhee, and Milan Kundera. Her favorite voice is William S. Burroughs. Her favorite directors are David Lynch and Roman Polanski, and her favorite movie is Lynch's *Blue Velvet.*

Each month, Laura and the editors sit down to determine how our articles might best be illuminated. Laura comes prepared with a set of suggestions—"When I read an article, I try to think of the most emotionally riveting image it contains"—and her compatriots sometimes offer contrary ideas. For this month's cover, Laura suggested the overall style and the central soldier image, while map-loving Marty Zupan contributed the idea for the background.

Laura then assigns work to the artists, giving clear instructions that nevertheless permit a fair degree of creative latitude. Illustrations usually take two to three weeks to complete, though an elaborate cover may take longer.

Regular readers will notice that Laura's developed a stable of 10 or 12 semiregular REASON illustrators and a few photographers, most of them young turk Californians. She tries to showcase a new artist every month; this issue, for example, introduces cover illustrator John Hull, whom we hope to see more of. "So many magazines have gone to straight photographs," says Main, "that our illustrators see REASON as a great place to show their work."

For the record, Laura's favorite covers are those of June and July 1986: the former was Fred Warder's cartoonish depiction of statesmen Bush and Kemp as "Miami Vice" cops; the latter, a Bill Boyd photograph of Thai model Pom Pongsapipatt. Honorable mention goes to October 1985, which featured, coincidentally, Laura's boyfriend (and fine basketball player) Mark Teresa.

Creating art on a budget often means finding models in odd places. Laura discovered Pom waiting tables in a Santa Barbara restaurant. For last month's Investments column, she got REASON's print broker David Tilove to ham it up with his Mercedes. She's recruited friends, relatives, and Venice Beach punk teenagers to pose for REASON.

Main, like the rest of us, is flawed and all too human. She draws unflattering caricatures of REASON staff members and often swears false oaths around the office, the most common being, "I promise to pay you back tomorrow."

But Laura's verve and joyous living of life keep the workplace and the magazine popping. And despite her thing about *Blue Velvet,* she pledges that severed-ear frescoes will remain conspicuous by their absence from our pages.

—Bill Kauffman

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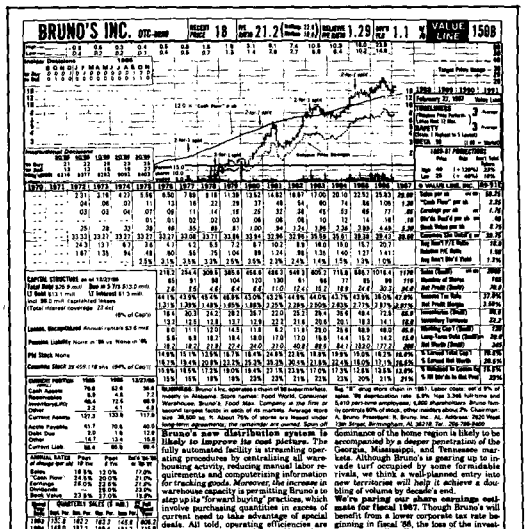
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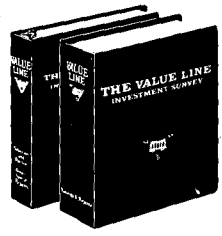

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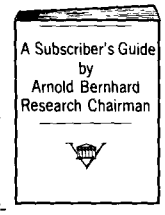

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letters

Heston Question

Regarding Charlton Heston: I truly enjoyed Bill Kauffman's interview with this great actor (April). I wished, though, Mr. Kauffman would have probed deeper into Mr. Heston's mind. At least two items deserve clarification: (1) Early in the interview Mr. Heston talks about the pernicious growth of government and the failure of even Ronald Reagan to stop this growth. (2) Then he moves on to talk about regulations concerning alcohol, tobacco, marijuana, drugs, etc., and gives, as an example of this government involvement, that Abraham Lincoln suspended the right of habeas corpus during the Civil War. Doesn't Mr. Heston see the connection between the growth of government and its interference in the private affairs of individuals?

Nevertheless, his most profound statement is at the very end: "I guess the sum of my opinion in that area is that I believe profoundly and absolutely in the capacities of the individual man, the extraordinary man—but I'm skeptical of mankind." If this is what Mr. Heston believes, shouldn't he also believe that individuals have the right to run their own lives? The government is a true representation of *mankind.* At its worst, in the name of doing good, the people working for it do (very) well in the process of enslaving us all. To Mr. Heston I say this, please check your premises and resolve your contradictions.

Jorge O. Svoboda
San Clemente, CA

IN GENERAL, I like the direction REASON has taken in recent years. But I *have* come to expect that the subjects of your interviews will be individuals whose words or actions contribute, in some important (if not consistent) way, to the advancement of "free minds and free markets." William Buckley (March 1983) and Christie Hefner (June 1986) fit this category, even though neither would be likely to receive the imprimatur of a Murray Rothbard [author of *For a New Liberty: The Libertarian Manifesto*].

But Charlton Heston? Heston's acting accomplishments may be grand. But in a magazine of ideas, well, ideas are what I want to see. Among the few concrete ideas I can discern in the Heston interview are:

- Government subsidies to the arts are okay.
- Not only should marijuana remain criminalized, but the government has a "responsibility" to take "draconian measures" to stop drugs.
- "We" may have to close our borders through martial law to deal with the population explosion.

Amazingly, Heston claims to believe that "that government is best which governs least." Where does funneling tax money into the arts bureaucracy, closing borders, declaring martial law, or taking police-state measures against drugs fit into that principle?

More to the point, what did this interview offer that I couldn't have had from *Conservative Digest,* on the one hand, or a movie fanzine on the other?

Otherwise, keep up the good work.

Steve Smith
Birmingham, AL

PLEASE, NO MORE of the half-baked wisdoms of the likes of Charlton Heston.

Gebhard Sommer
Lexington, SC

I VERY MUCH ENJOYED the interview with Charlton Heston. As always, he is intelligent, remarkably lacking in self-importance, and worth listening to. I do feel that one clarification is in order, however.

In regard to First Amendment rights, Heston observed, "For instance, you could not make a movie graphically depicting the torture and murder and sexual abuse of a five-year-old girl. You simply would not be allowed to market such a thing." Heston is correct, but he misses the point.

In every state, the acts described are felonies, and any film record of such acts would be rightfully seized as evidence. The film would not be distributed, but for reasons unrelated to the First Amendment.

Censors always attempt to ban ideas

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that they don't agree with by claiming that they do not warrant First Amendment protection. The Meese Commission on Pornography used this very tactic by raising the specter of child pornography in an attempt to ban the interchange of sexual ideas. Again, the very act of producing child pornography, which even the Meese Commission grudgingly admitted is a very underground and tiny "industry," is almost universally considered child abuse—a felony—and is punishable as such.

The First Amendment does and should protect depictions of legal, consensual sexual activity as rigorously as it protects the publication of *Mein Kampf.* As always, the measure of our freedom is not how well we protect what we like but how well we protect what we despise.

M. D. McDaniel
Gillette, WY

"Mmmmm, If You Want to Satisfy My Soul..."

Leo N. Miletich is to be congratulated for writing the wonderful article "Rock Me with a Steady Roll" (March). It is making the rounds among music fans of diverse tastes in two offices which I frequent.

The photographs of the Satanic songster and his frog familiar and of the equine epitome of evil were highly appropriate and instructive.

I must, however, point out a minor error: the tune of our national anthem is not that of a "rowdy beer-drinking song" but of a jaunty *wine*-drinking song, "To Anacreon in Heaven," in which Anacreon promises his emulators: "And besides, I'll instruct you like me to entwine/The Myrtle of Venus with Bacchus's vine"!

Jeffry D. Mueller
Finksburg, MD

THE MARCH ISSUE brought the usual helping of simple-minded lunacy that characterizes the libertarian—which has nothing to do with liberty. REASON says *liberty* when it means *freedom.* There's a difference. To be free is to be without restraint—always a despicable state. Even if you restrain yourself you are not free. Liberty is the possession and exercise of the right of self-government. Can you picture collective self-government of a country without a high degree of individual self-government?

Your never-ending contention that each has the right to do as he pleases short of harming another is the "if it feels good do it doctrine" in another guise. Is there nothing too degraded, disgusting, or despicable to do or say in public, though no one is harmed physically? Is insult not injury?

If everyone does as he pleases with no reference to societal norms, there the nation disappears, replaced by a mob—which is rapidly happening in the United States. Look around and note the rising tide of barbarism. As freedom rises, liberty dies, and America hits the skids on libertarian grease.

Charles L. Murphy
Tarzana, CA

LEO MILETICH'S article put rock censorship in perfect perspective, as the absurd, medieval moralizing that it is. But under that silly surface lies a very serious business—evangelical fundraising. These are prophets driven by the profit motive, and they're not giving up their crusade easily. We will have more trouble from these modern-day carpetbaggers. I wish they were really as ridiculous as they seem.

Bob Guccione, Jr.
Editor and Publisher, Spin
New York, NY

From Rock to Roots

The concentration of cultural and historical commentary in the March issue is something this long-time reader would like to see more of in REASON.

You were particularly fortunate to capture Robert Nisbet ("America as Utopia") addressing a subject he respects and knows well—the American political tradition—as there is in his writings on socioeconomic issues a bothersome anticommerical attitude. I found his REASON article graceful and deeply rooted in the historical material.

William D. Burt
Binghamton, NY

Black-Eyed Bureau

I share Lucy Braun's distress over the great difficulty she experienced in getting a simple question answered ("Calling All Bureaucrats," Upfront, March), and I apologize for what appears to have been a classical case of the bureaucratic shuffle—the kind that gives any organization a black eye.

I assure you that her exasperating experience reinforces one thing for me: As public servants, we must take special care to see that anyone calling government receives a courteous and swift response to an inquiry. I will reiterate this to my top staff and ask that, in turn, they engender the same spirit in their colleagues, who, after all, are paid to serve the American public.

William E. Brock
Secretary of Labor
Washington, DC

With Freedom, Anything Is Possible

Illustrating the review of *Playing God with Yellowstone* is a scene from Yosemite National Park. Apparently your own faith in playing deity is quite adequate to move Half Dome across the entire Rocky Mountain range!

Charles Liddell
Burleson, TX

THIS IS A LETTER of support to let you know it's *okay*—all of us get Yellowstone and Yosemite mixed up. And anyhow, that's a beautiful picture.

Jack Sanders
San Diego, CA

What's Really in the Bill of Rights?

In "Making This Liberty Stuff Come Alive" (Feb.), Nat Hentoff laments that the Bill of Rights has such meager support today. He then proceeds to show us *by example* why so few people would support it.

Article 1 of the Bill of Rights says: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

To illustrate the attack on freedom of the press, he cites a case in which "a

group calling itself Concerned Citizens, intent on purifying school libraries, had removed 33 books." But where in the Bill of Rights does it say that taxpayers must be coerced to pay for books they don't like? Mr. Hentoff's copy of the Bill of Rights must include this amendment: "No one may interfere with a school librarian's right to choose what school children will read, and to require taxpayers to finance the librarian's choice."

For his next example, he cites "an order by the president of Northeastern University, where I was editor of the school paper, to cease and desist from troublemaking journalism or leave the paper." Apparently, Mr. Hentoff's Bill of Rights also includes an amendment: "No newspaper owner shall interfere with his employee's right to publish anything the employee wants at the owner's expense."

His third example is similar: High-school editors "had been summarily suspended for printing stories that were not obscene or defamatory or likely to disrupt the school." This must be covered by the amendment I just cited.

He then fires away at "the growing FBI use of undercover crooks in stings and scams," which he implies violate the Fourth Amendment. My copy of the Fourth reads: "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause...." But Mr. Hentoff apparently has a new, revised version which reads: "The FBI shall not take advantage of anyone's willingness to commit a crime."

Then we come to the "freedom of speech" example, in which a representative of the South African government is prevented from speaking by a mob of students. A look at the First Amendment reveals nothing concerning an altercation between a speaker and his enemies—since *the Bill of Rights deals only with limitations upon government.*

Mr. Hentoff's final example deals with the parade of a Communist splinter group that led to violence. I assume this was meant to illustrate "the right of people peaceably to assemble." Apparently, that means anyone can tie up streets and cities with marches or protests.

The First Amendment says very simply and unambiguously that Congress can't stop anyone from publishing because of the content of what he publishes, cannot prevent people from practicing their own religions, can't stop people from meeting together or punish people for speaking out against the government. There is nothing in the First Amendment that says anyone is entitled to a free printing press, a free library, or a free church or that anyone must underwrite other people's protests or activities. Nor does it say that everyone must like, endorse, and pay for other people's publications, religions, and meetings. Mr. Hentoff has managed to praise the Bill of Rights by citing six cases—all of which are irrelevant to the Bill of Rights.

I can understand his own preferences for libraries that stock diverse viewpoints on their shelves, for student newspapers that are lively and even controversial, for South Africans to be heard along with Boer-bashers, for Communists to have the same legal rights as non-Communists. I wouldn't argue with him on any of these points.

But I also can understand that parents are fed up with paying for viewpoints that are opposite to their religious beliefs, that college endowers are sick of paying for campus newspapers that oppose their political beliefs, that ordinary citizens are tired of having city streets and schools and other public areas immobilized by political protests. And when you tell them (falsely) that the Bill of Rights forces them to put up with these things—needless to say, they no longer support the Bill of Rights.

Harry Browne
Austin, TX

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Scanners of the World, Unite

Do my eyes deceive me, or do you actually *hail* the Electronic Communications Privacy Act ("Milestones," Trends, Feb.) as if it were an advance for freedom? This law, which criminalizes the act of innocently scanning the radio spectrum, effectively ends the freedom that U.S. citizens have enjoyed for decades to monitor *any* signal in the radio spectrum (although not to disclose to unauthorized persons the content of private messages received). The United States was one of the few coun-

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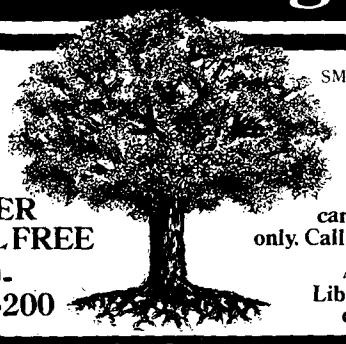

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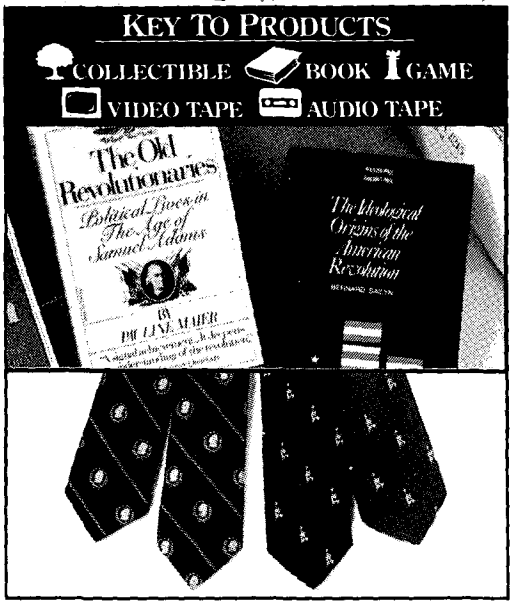

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letters

tries in the world to grant such freedom to its citizens. We now join the statist nations of Europe, who have long prohibited unfettered monitoring, and REASON hails it as a good trend!

This is not a law protecting privacy. It is a boondoggle to benefit the cellular phones industry, which wants to convince customers that their conversations are "private" (which in fact they aren't), without having to provide expensive encryption equipment. In actuality, anyone with an 800 Mhz scanner can easily listen in (these may now be illegal to manufacture; long live Big Brother!), as can anyone with an old TV which receives UHF channels 80 through 83. What they mean is: any unauthorized person who listens to nonbroadcast transmissions can be arrested!

How bad is this law? So bad that to get it passed, they had to tack it onto the "drug enforcement legislation package," which even REASON recognized as an abomination!

Robert Sheaffer
Monte Sereno, CA

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If Switzerland Has Three, Can't We at Least Have One?

REASON wrongly ascribes to xenophobia ("Election Roundup," Trends, Feb.) the initiative making English California's official language. The real motivation was the desire to spare this country the frightful social, political, and economic costs paid by most countries that do not have a single official language. You are surely aware that squabbles of linguistic groups have recently brought down the Belgian government, threatened the continued existence of Canada, and caused bloodshed in India.

The more quickly immigrants learn English, the more quickly they fit into our society and economy. That is good for them and us. Let us teach foreign languages, certainly, but let us make clear to all that English is *the* language of the United States.

Howard Brandon
Madison, GA

I WAS SHOCKED that REASON would call California's Proposition 63 "xenophobia-inspired." This proposition was initiated to *counter* the movement toward *government-mandated* bilingualism and biculturalism.

Government-enforced bilingualism is being pushed by the same fuzzy-headed do-gooders who want free lunches in our schools. The costs of forced bilingualism will weaken our education system.

I would also like to point out that the "xenophobic" French have an official language (French), the xenophobic Russians (Russian), the xenophobic Swedes (Swedish), etc. Xenophobia seems to be widespread. I do have one question for your writers. Is Switzerland with three official languages three times as xenophobic as California or less xenophobic?

Thomas J. Golab
Beltsville, MD

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What's Worse Than Big Government?

Virginia I. Postrel

"I recognize the restrictions of the present budget, and I welcome the challenge to do more within those constraints...throwing dollars doesn't solve the problem."

Pretty conservative stuff. It wowed even Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), who said the speaker "might have accidentally been quoting one of my speeches." Ted Kennedy—yes, the quote is his—has gotten budget-deficit religion. And he isn't alone.

The people who've tried for years to bring us the ultimate welfare state—socialized medicine, guaranteed incomes, and so forth—are now preaching the virtues of controlling government spending. But don't get too excited. This is bad, bad news.

Big-government lovers haven't gotten tight, they've just gotten sneaky. Their goals haven't changed, and they're still playing with other people's money, only now they won't admit it. Their latest trick is to create new programs by passing laws forcing employers to do what the government doesn't want to foot the bill for. It's as old as income-tax withholding and just as insidious. A business hires someone and, presto, it's a social worker—or a cop.

This newest round of employer-based welfare started with a little-noticed law passed last year. The law requires employers to sell group health insurance to former spouses of employees and to unemployed workers, including those who quit. It increases companies' administrative expenses and—because it encourages high-risk people to sign up for insurance—tends to raise insurance costs, as well. But, to Congress, it was cheap. "We're trying to find low-cost ways of helping people, and this is one of them," a House aide commented at the time.

That statement pretty well summarizes the current attitude in Washington—"costs" equal "government costs" and employers come for free. Above all, the government knows what's best for management and labor alike. (Interestingly, unions generally oppose mandatory benefits, arguing that their members should bargain for what they want, not what Uncle Sam thinks they should have.)

Congress didn't stop with merely forcing employers to sell insurance. Now that the Democrats have regained control of the Senate, Kennedy is once again pushing his favorite cause—national health insurance, with a "private enterprise" twist this time. He wants to make all employers provide health insurance.

As Joseph Califano, Jimmy Carter's Health and Human Services secretary, put it at a recent Senate hearing: "What we need is a minimum health-care law just as we have a minimum wage law. Let's simply require that each employer assure its employees of a minimum level of health care—physician treatment, hospitalization, preventive services for the employee and his or her family." Look, ma, no new bureaucrats, no new taxes.

But also no new jobs. And fewer old ones. That, of course, is what hidden taxes on employers end up producing. And, make no mistake about it, mandatory health benefits *are* new taxes. They take money from businesses and use it as Kennedy & Co. see fit. That means less money for expansion, for raises, for new jobs, for improving "competitiveness."

Unfortunately, this fad of "simply requiring" programs too unpopular to get through Congress with the price tag attached goes beyond health insurance. Social engineers of all stripes are trying to force employers to join their causes.

Kennedy himself is pushing for an increase in that old standby, the minimum wage. One fan of the measure, quoted in *Insight* magazine, called the increase "one thing [Congress] can do for the working poor without raising the federal deficit." Supporters fail to note, of course, the cost that such an increase would levy on both employers and employees, some of whom would undoubtedly be fired to cut costs.

Another "cost-free" social program would require employers to give workers with new babies up to 18 weeks off, with full benefits and a guaranteed job on their return. The government wouldn't compensate employers for those benefits or for temporary help. And, like most such programs, the burden would fall especially hard on smaller companies. It would also make businesses think twice before hiring likely parents. But, to its supporters, the bill looks cheap.

While liberals are trying to create a socialist state in the guise of private enterprise, conservatives are trying to turn businesses into police auxiliaries. Not so long ago, the Reagan administration was urging all employers to give workers drug tests; only the Constitution stood between this jawboning and legislative action to *require* such tests.

Equally chilling and with more real effect, the new immigration law forces employers to check the papers of all new workers. This law not only enlists employers as involuntary immigration police but also adds yet another bureaucratic step to the process of hiring a new employee.

Conscripting employers in the war on poverty, the war on drugs, or the war on illegals is wrong, stupid, and certainly not cheap. Worst of all, it is hard to abolish—for the very reason that it doesn't increase the deficit or require an appropriations bill every year.

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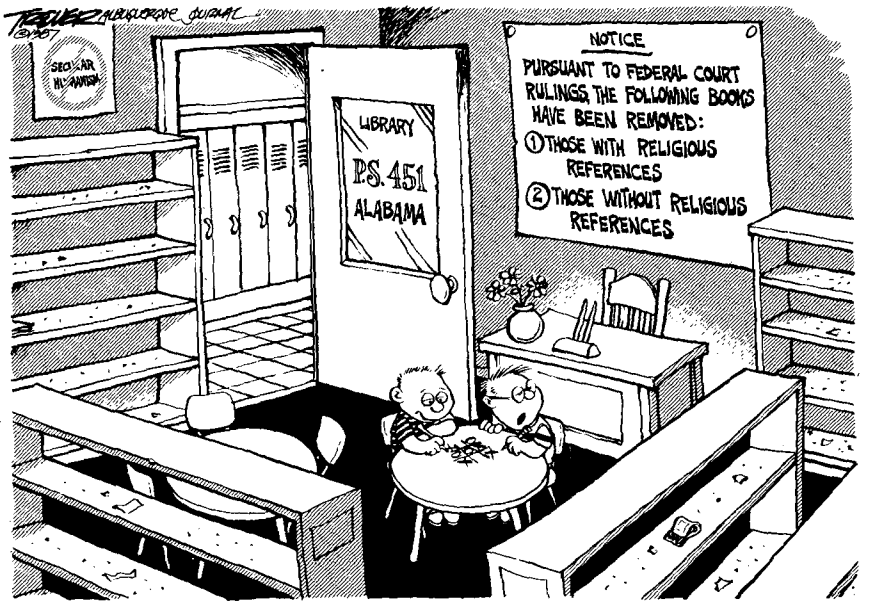
brickbats

Apparently the government doesn't like Good Samaritans. When two back-to-back snowstorms paralyzed Fairfax County, Virginia, a resident attached a snowplow to his pickup truck and cleared three streets near his home. Most of his neighbors were grateful, but one complained to the police. Walter Bainbridge soon found himself charged with "unauthorized work on a public highway without a valid permit," an offense that could cost him a $100 fine. "If I hadn't plowed the street out," he observes, "the police wouldn't have been able to get to my house."

Municipal employees of Long Branch, New Jersey, are now officially forbidden from engaging in "the recitation of jokes or stories of an ethnic, racial, or sexual gender nature" while on city time. Enclosed with the paychecks of the city's 275 workers was a notice saying that insulting humor has been banned during working hours. Walter Mickens, superintendent of the municipal building, is worried. He had previously won a trophy for having the best sense of humor in the city. "Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Irish, Italians, Swedes, Polish—we don't miss anyone," he admits. Police sergeant Louis Napoletano says the new policy has dampened morale in the police department. "Our copy of *Truly Tasteless Jokes* has been confiscated," he reports. One detective has signed a waiver that lets city workers aim derisive jokes at him without fear of reprisal. "You have to be a lot callous to remain on this job," he explains.

Urban planners have gone edict-crazy in Boulder, Colorado. The city's new urban-design plan discourages, via "non-mandatory" guidelines, the use of indoor-outdoor carpeting, plastic shingles, and drive-in windows. Dictators of taste also officially frown on large parking lots and "New Orleans"-style wrought-iron railings. Downtown Boulder's architectural style is Victorian, and city planners want it to stay that way. Although the regulations are voluntary, builders must submit to a mandatory review by a city board. "I'm just not entirely enthused about city government trying to select the color of the wallpaper in the men's room," says Robert D. Greenlee, one of only two city council members who voted against the plan.



"ANYBODY FOR SEPARATION OF SCHOOL AND STATE?"

Try to fool Uncle Sam, will ya? The government, in hopes of preventing federal employees from cheating on drug tests, will implement guidelines that include dyeing the water in designated federal potties and rigidly monitoring test-takers. The guidelines require monitors to be stationed inside restrooms, but outside toilet stalls, while urine samples are given. Officials will take the temperature of samples within four minutes to assure their authenticity. The National Treasury Employees Union is a bit PO'd and has sued the government to stop the testing.

The IRS leaves no stone unturned in its effort to collect. The agency seized $694 in savings from a 10-year-old girl whose unemployed father couldn't pay $1,000 in back taxes. The government later returned the money, which the San Jose, California, girl had earned collecting aluminum cans and doing household chores. But the IRS still went on to place a lien on three savings accounts totaling $173 and belonging to the children of a farmer who had just been forced to sell his farm and equipment to pay debts. Senate Finance Committee member David H. Pryor says he's disturbed by the IRS's heavy-handedness. He wonders "whether legislation might be necessary to protect the piggy banks of the children of America." Hmm, good idea. Now, about Social Security, Senator Pryor...

Vice President George Bush enjoys a reputation as a slick card player. But there seems to be a joker in the deck. Sen. William Proxmire wants to know why the Air Force paid $59,000 over the last six years for playing cards given out as souvenirs to guests traveling with Bush on Air Force Two. It seems that for 20 years now, the Air Force has been buying cards for vice-presidents and their guests. Proxmire says that at a rate of $10,000 per year, "we may be looking at a wasted project totaling more than $200,000 since the 1960s."

—Mark Edward Crane

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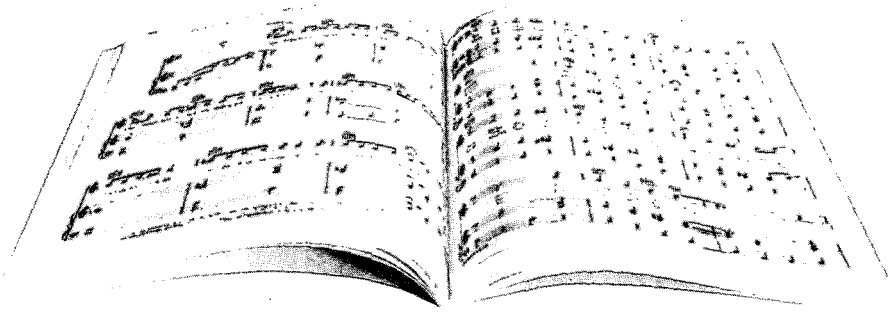

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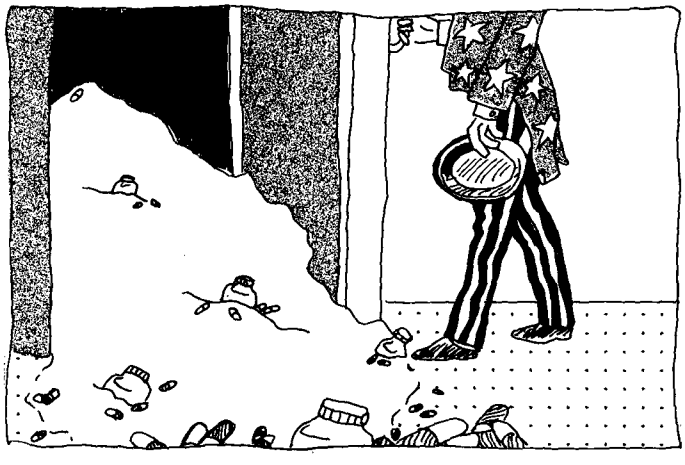
trends

Killing a Life — Threatening Regulation

For people afflicted with AIDS and other terminal illnesses, deregulation may now make the difference between life and death.

Taking what the *Wall Street Journal* called "a giant step for the sick and dying," the Reagan administration has instructed the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) to ease its regulations so that patients can more quickly receive experimental drugs that might save their lives. In a radical departure from current procedures, the new rules will make available (through a physician's prescription) drugs that have been tested but have not yet been formally approved by the federal government. "This means that, in general, persons with life-threatening and serious diseases will be able to obtain experimental treatment years earlier than is now the case," says a statement from the office of Vice President George Bush, who chairs the president's task force on regulatory relief.



The current morass of FDA requirements demands that new drugs be proven not just safe but *effective*. Not surprisingly, manufacturers of a new drug have had to wait as long as nine years to get the government's stamp of approval. "Not only has the FDA been seeking risk-free drugs, it also has been applying the most rigorous methods of science to decide on the efficacy of each new drug," noted the *Journal*. "The result has been to deny patients modern therapy even when it might save their lives."

The new rules will ease the reporting requirements on drug researchers and create exemptions to those requirements. Furthermore, pharmaceutical companies will be allowed to charge for their products. Some patients can now get experimental medicines under the FDA's special "compassionate plea" program, but companies have to give the drugs away for free. By allowing drug manufacturers to receive money for their products, the new rules will "ensure that drug companies have enough incentive to make these drugs available," explained FDA Commissioner Frank Young. The ability to charge will also allow small companies to compete in drug development, since they'll be able to test expensive drugs they otherwise couldn't afford to test.

The *Journal* proclaimed that the eased restrictions will provide "a major benefit to American life." Maybe AIDS (and other) patients won't have to go to Mexico, Canada, or their own underground clinics anymore to get treatment. The FDA has finally realized that these people are willing to accept greater than average risks. They want a *chance* to live—and now they'll have it.

NATO Lovers Forced to Defend Their Passion

Asking the question "Should the United States withdraw from NATO?" in respectable Washington company was once a faux pas on the order of serving Hamburger Helper to your Hindu in-laws. No more.

Just how far NATO skeptics have come was demonstrated at a recent conference sponsored by the D.C.-based Cato Institute. Over 100 journalists, policy analysts, and the like heard a tri-cornered debate between economist Melvyn Krauss, Georgetown professor Earl Ravenal, and U.S. Ambassador to West Germany Richard Burt. Presiding over all this was *The New Republic*'s impish editor, Michael Kinsley.

Krauss, author of the new book *How NATO Weakens the West* (excerpted in REASON, Nov. 1986), stressed two points in arguing for a phased U.S. withdrawal. First, "we would save a lot of money." (NATO-related expenditures by the U.S. government are estimated at $130 billion annually.) Second, "NATO has created weak allies," and weaning Western Europe from U.S. subvention would encourage the Europeans to take more seriously the need to build up their defenses.

Ravenal agreed that the United States ought to disengage from NATO, though he wondered if Krauss, like neoconservative anti-NATO intellectual Irving Kristol, isn't motivated by "petulance and spite" at our allegedly decadent allies.

Ambassador Burt, looking suave and ambassadorial (when he used to work for the *New York Times*, said one bewildered source, "he looked like a regular guy—like a reporter"), summed up his case with the old aphorism "If it ain't broke, don't fix it." He argued that NATO is responsible for 40 years of peace in Europe and that anti-NATOites "play right into the hands" of Europe's quasi-pacifist peace movement.

Pace Burt, Krauss argues that getting out of NATO—and specifically, ceding control of medium-range nuclear weapons on European soil to the Europeans—would "undermin[e] European neutralism and pacifism." In a *Wall Street Journal* essay —"Let Europe Negotiate with Gorbachev"—Krauss suggested this and other advantages of releasing the nuclear missiles to Europe. Citing historian Adam Ulam's assessment that the Soviet Union most fears a politically united, rearmed Europe that would force it to deal with two super-

Are Two Different Visions Tearing Our World Apart?

Thomas Sowell is at it again.

Over the last two decades he has taken on and demolished a mountain of myths in one area after another. Now he's turned in another blockbuster that breaks new ground with an originality of perspective and a boldness of style that will make everyone, left and right alike, sit up and take notice.

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So different are these two visions that often people from one camp cannot even understand what those from another are talking about. But that hasn't stopped them from threatening to tear apart societies and egging on the world to potential disaster.

Why? Because as Thomas Sowell points out, visions are powerful things. They underlie our ideologies and our political positions, and they may motivate us more than money, power or fame. People will kill for them and die for them. Indeed, *"We will do almost anything for our visions except think about them."*

The purpose of this book is to help us think about them.

- ***Why do concepts like "freedom," "equality," "rights," and "power" have such different meanings to different people?***
- ***Can these differences ever be resolved?***
- ***Why are failed visions in the natural sciences so much easier to abandon than in the social sciences?***
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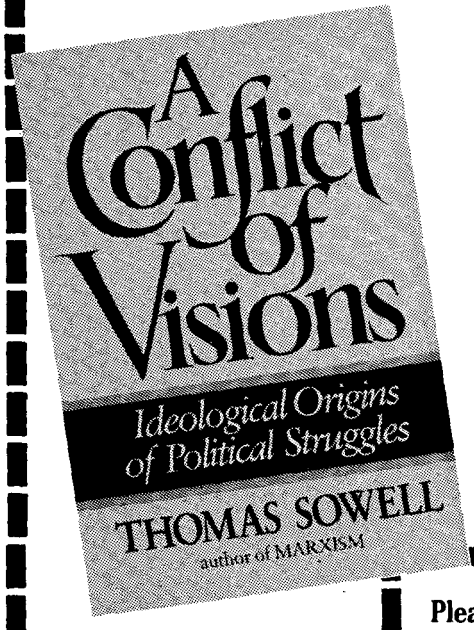
- ***Are visions stronger than self-interest?***
- ***How do those with one vision regard those with another?***



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powers instead of one, Krauss argued that U.S. withdrawal from the European scene could actually strengthen the West's position vis-à-vis the Soviets.

Recent opinion polls show that a majority of British, French, and Italian people want their own governments to keep nuclear weapons but also want U.S. missiles banished from Europe. Only the Germans, reports *The Economist*, want Americans "to help in the defence of Europe through NATO."

Opinion polls in this country have showed similar reluctance to entangle the U.S. government in the defense of Europe. As Krauss noted, "the elite are clearly in favor of NATO. The average guy is against NATO." That elites like Burt and Kinsley have joined a once-verboten debate suggests that NATO isn't as fixed as it used to be.

Dissecting Congressional Votes: More Formaldehyde, Please!

The Competitive Enterprise Institute is at it again. First the Washington, D.C.–based public-interest group released congressional ratings with a twist—the tax-eaters were graded by their fealty to free enterprise. (Trends, Jan.). Now CEI has broken down the ratings for votes in the 99th Congress into discrete issue groupings—pork barrel, trade, agriculture, and budget. "Our study constitutes the most comprehensive analysis available of congressional voting on issues of competition and free market principles," says Fred Smith, CEI's president.

The new ratings detail the intraparty divisions often overlooked by mainstream pundits and testify to the persistence of regionalism in American politics. Among the nuggets of information gleaned from CEI's "CAT Scan of Congress":

- Democratic "neoliberals" really are better on trade than their paleo comrades. New Democratic heartthrob Bill Bradley (D-N.J.) notches an 88 score in support of free trade, and Colorado's Gary Hart, who's left the Senate for an 18-month experiment in wind-blown platitudes, earned a 75. (Senate Democrats averaged a mere 28.)
- New Speaker of the House Jim Wright (D-Texas) has the worst voting record since the beginning of time, or at least since Lyndon B. Johnson fled this vale of tears. Wright voted wrong on 21 of 21 "pork barrel and subsidy" roll calls, 7 of 8 trade votes, and on all 5 agriculture issues studied. Plus (not reflected in CEI's index) he thinks we need new social programs and more defense spending. Tip, come back!
- Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), bane of liberals and secular humanists, is an out-and-out protectionist. He scored just 25 on trade issues. Similarly puny grades went to fellow Republicans Newt Gingrich of Georgia (38) and Sens. Bill Cohen of Maine (25), Paul Laxalt of Nevada (29), Al D'Amato of New York (25), Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania (0—yes, *0*), and South Carolina's courtly geezer Strom Thurmond (25).
- Most-protectionist Senate delegation is Ohio's, where flyboy John Glenn and the abrasive Howard Metzenbaum, both

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Democrats, rack up 0s. Worst pork barrelers are from Hawaii, where Democrats Spark Matsunaga and Daniel Inouye average a score of 6.

• Perfect 100s in trade were notched by Republican Sens. Mark Hatfield (Oreg.), Phil Gramm (Texas), and Washingtonians (the state, that is) Dan Evans and Slade Gorton, the latter a casualty of the '86 elections.

• Ted Kennedy's sleek new (political) look isn't all hype. The Taxachusetts Democrat scored a 60 in CEI's budget category, though he was predictably dismal in other areas.

There's more juicy red meat for political carnivores to sink their fangs into. One caution: Military spending—about one-third of the federal budget—is excluded from CEI's laundry list of "budget" votes. Including it would wreak havoc with conservative Republican scores and surely boost the ratings of economy-minded skeptics like Sens. William Proxmire (D-Wisc.) and Hatfield.

All in all, these are fascinating data for zoologists studying *Americanus politicianus*. We always knew the creatures were dangerous; now we see their individual predatory habits that much clearer.

Giving Credit Where Credit Is Due

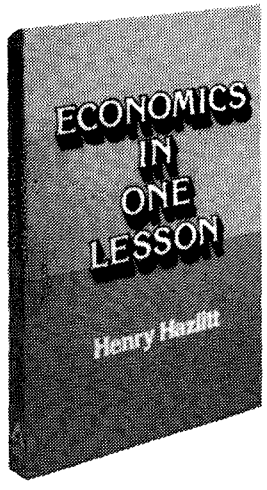
The sky used to be the limit for credit-card interest rates, but now the sky is falling. It's happened without new laws or new regulations, and—interesting development—consumer groups may have ended up demonstrating the value of relying on the market.

Angry that banks were paying about 6 percent on deposits but "still charging cardholders a whopping 18 percent and more," Consumers Union, publisher of the popular *Consumer Reports*, launched a "Fight and Switch" campaign to let the public know that at least some banks were offering lower rates. Not only that, but it specified which banks were offering lower rates.

Another group, San Francisco–based Consumer Action reported that in the first three months of the year it received 9,000 requests for its list of banks offering low-interest cards—more than in all of 1986. Pointing to such efforts, a *New York Times* editorial earlier this year raised its voice against loud cries from many quarters for government action to limit credit-card interest rates.

Congress is still considering bills that would clamp ceilings on interest rates and require all credit-card applications and solicitations to disclose the card's financial terms. Such requirements, particularly rate ceilings, could very well make it impossible for riskier customers to get credit.

But the marketplace itself



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—H.L. MENCKEN

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trends

looks to be heading off legislation. American Express has introduced a new card, called Optima, which charges only 13.5 percent on outstanding balances. Its bank competitors have already begun to slash their rates. Citibank, the bank with the most credit-card accounts, has cut its rate for "preferred" customers to 16.8 percent. (But it still charges an exorbitant 19.8 percent to most cardholders.)

"American Express is the 500-pound gorilla that consumers have been waiting for," Elgie Holstein, director of Bankcard Holders of America, a consumer group, told the *Wall Street Journal* recently. AmEx, she said, "has the coast-to-coast marketing muscle to go head-to-head with Visa and MasterCard and make interest rates an issue."

Want the market to work? Cut your Visa plastic in half, mail it back, and go get a better deal.

Can Baby Grow Up?

The Bells are ringing with delight. It's been three years since Ma Bell cracked

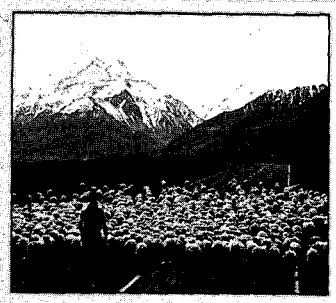
global trends

New Zealand Unchained... Well, Almost

CHRISTCHURCH—New Zealand had a banking crisis immediately following the election of David Lange's Labour government in July 1984. No foreign currency was available, so banks could not open for foreign-exchange dealings. These had been suspended by the outgoing prime minister, Robert "Piggy" Muldoon, on the day before the election—the last of his many drastic economic interventions.

After some constitutional skirmishing over the transfer of power, the new administration acted decisively. It devalued the currency by 20 percent and abolished the interest-rate and price controls shackling the economy. After steady reform, New Zealand's financial system is on its way to becoming the least-regulated in the world. Fixed exchange rates and exchange controls of 50 years' standing are gone, and competition between financial institutions has been allowed.

Behind these changes is a revolution in attitudes. A new generation has assumed control in politics and commerce. Where previously decisionmakers sought to avoid risk and enforce conformity, the new professional managers are eager for



competition and challenges. Roger Douglas, the finance minister who designed the Labour government's economic policy, epitomizes the new breed.

An important cause of this revolution is the realization that decades of socialist controls had hurt New Zealand. Its per capita income fell from one of world's highest to about 30th. Its infant-mortality rate exceeded those of Puerto Rico and Poland. The jibe was that New Zealand was the only country entering the Third World from above.

In response to this decline, the Labour administration has acted to free the economy. Some moves had been initiated by the previous National Party government, but the pace has been quickened. Lange and his advisers are pragmatic; they deregulate when it can be done.

The economy is still far from free, though. Most direct import controls have been phased out—but high tariffs are replacing them. Trade union membership is compulsory, with wages negotiated on a nationwide basis. Central-government spending consumes 40 percent of national income, so taxes are high.

There is much to applaud in the Labour government's economic policies. But there is an inconsistency in its aim. In freeing the economy so that more income is available for redistribution, Labour has overlooked the importance of inequalities, which provide the incentives on which economic growth depends.

—**Richard Manning**

Island in the (Reform) Stream

COLOMBO—Privatization is coming to many sectors of the Sri Lankan economy that were, until quite recently, government monopolies. For example:

- The island-wide government telecommunications monopoly is a candidate for privatization. Four foreign companies are lobbying to buy it.
- Parliament has privatized insurance, and major British firms are joining local companies to satisfy the new market.
- The manufacture of sugar, heretofore a government monopoly, has been opened to the private sector.
- Local entrepreneurs are operating fleets in competition with the state-owned Ceylon Transport Board.
- The amount of land that an individual is allowed to own has increased from 50 to 100 acres, and the current one-house-per-individual limit may be raised.

Slowly, this island nation is expanding the bounds of individual liberty.

—**Milinda Moragoda**

Global Roundup

■ *Warsaw wants its MTV.* The satellite dish is invading Poland. About 300 Poles already have the dishes, which provide access to Western TV. Another 1,500 have applied to General "Sunglasses after Dark" Jaruzelski's government for permits the state has now decided it will require; no action yet on those requests. Polish entrepreneurs seem to expect a government surrender: dish production is gearing up.

■ *Disarming Pretorian guards?* Defections by anti-apartheid whites are crippling South African President P. W. Botha's National Party. Led by former ambassador to Britain Denis Worrall, dissident whites—including golf great Gary Player—are demanding that blacks be accorded genuine political rights. Meanwhile, the radically decentralist alternative to apartheid pushed by REASON contributors Frances Kendall and Leon Louw in *South Africa: The Solution* is *the* hot topic in political circles: no less than Winnie Mandela, wife of the imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, is talking up the book.

up. And now the Justice Department has recommended that regional telephone companies, the so-called Baby Bells, be allowed to compete in long-distance service outside their regions, in equipment manufacturing, and in information services. They are currently barred from these businesses by the 1984 consent decree that broke up the Bell System and ended Justice's antitrust suit against the old AT&T.

Even more significantly, perhaps, the recommendations argued that regional companies should be permitted to provide long-distance service *within* their areas in states that agree to end local monopolies. In other words, Baby Bells would give up their monopoly status in exchange for the right to compete freely in long-distance.

The recommendation still has to win the approval of federal judge Harold Greene, the communications czar who administers the breakup agreement. He'll decide later this year whether the consent decree should be modified.

If Greene goes along with the recommendations, the Bell companies will probably plunge into information services right away—starting with electronic Yellow Pages. Suppose you need a florist, any florist, in time to get a Mother's Day bouquet delivered *tomorrow*. Electronic Yellow Pages would let you call the operator and get a list of florists in Mom's hometown. Or you could connect your computer to the phone company's and retrieve phone numbers and even advertising directly. (Printed Yellow Pages would still exist, of course.)

Whether Baby Bells would trade local-monopoly status for a potential piece of the long-distance market is a tougher question. Simply convincing legislators to relinquish their states' power to grant monopoly franchises would be hard enough. And Charles Rule, the Justice Department's acting antitrust chief, told the *Wall Street Journal* that some regional companies would likely be unwilling to sacrifice their monopolies to experiment with long-distance. The aim of the proposals, he said, was to promote "long term and relatively gradual change."

Long-term, yes. Gradual, yes. But also dramatic.

Milestones

■ *Rent control loses control.* Calling it "unreasonably overbroad, ill-tailored and severely restrictive," a federal judge has struck down commercial rent control in Berkeley. The judge ruled that a section of the ordinance narrowly limiting the grounds on which a property owner may refuse to renew a lease violates the constitutional ban on impairment of contracts. Officials say that rent control in other parts of Berkeley may now be similarly challenged.

■ *Sign of the times.* Even the socialist newspaper *In These Times* endorsed the move to raise the 55-mile-an-hour speed limit. In a fit of uncharacteristic decentralism, the paper wondered, "Why has the federal government imposed a nationwide limit on driving speed when conditions vary from state to state, and the people on the scene are qualified to decide for themselves and are the ones most directly affected?"

—Robert W. Poole, Jr., Lucy Braun, Bill Kauffman, and Virginia I. Postrel

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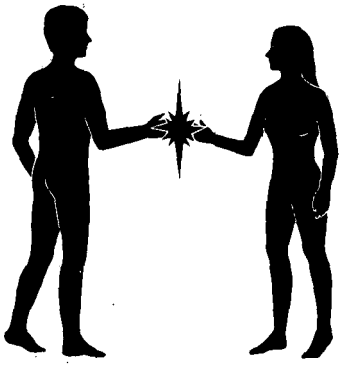

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Should it stay or should it go?

'Round the table: Christopher Layne (lower left) and Ted Carpenter face off against Laurence W. Beilenson and Jack Wheeler, with Robert W. Poole, Jr., moderating.

The Reagan Doctrine

Should the U.S. government aid anti-communist insurgents? This question of whether the so-called Reagan Doctrine is right or wrong divides—often bitterly—even those who share a common devotion to individual liberty. Yet all too often, the two sides talk past each other. Put them in a room together, add a good moderator, and they won't. That's what the editors of REASON *figured when we asked four of our authors, with widely varying views, to debate the question one afternoon in early March—the same day, it so happened, that the Tower Commission released its findings on the Iran-*contra *affair.*

Our panel included two men who can, and do, claim some credit for introducing the Reagan Doctrine to Ronald Reagan. Laurence W. Beilenson, a former trial lawyer and author of numerous books on history and foreign policy, first articulated the doctrine's theoretical basis long before Reagan became president. Jack Wheeler, president of the Freedom Research Foundation, traveled around the world for REASON *to report on anti-Soviet resistance movements. His series of articles and subsequent speeches encouraged policymakers to think of these insurgents not as isolated cases but as a worldwide rebellion against the Soviet Union.*

On the other side of the table, literally and figuratively, were two frequent critics of the doctrine and of U.S. intervention abroad in general. Ted Galen Carpenter, a historian, is a foreign policy analyst for the Cato Institute in Washington, D.C. Christopher Layne, an attorney by profession, writes frequently on foreign policy not only for REASON *but also for such publications as* The New Republic *and* Foreign Policy. *The discussion was moderated by Reason Foundation president and* REASON *publisher Robert W. Poole, Jr.*

Robert W. Poole, Jr.: We'll start by addressing the general question of the rightness of the Reagan Doctrine—what do each of you think about whether it is appropriate for a free society, for a society that believes in limited government and individual liberty? I'd like to start off by asking Jack to make the basic case for the rightness of the doctrine.

Jack Wheeler: It is an entirely legitimate and necessary function of the government

to provide defense. The U.S. is up against an enemy of staggering military power whose purpose of existence is to remove every obstacle in its way to world domination. That is the religion of Soviet Marxism. We are obligated in terms of our national survival to take every measure that we can to weaken the Soviet Union and to render it incapable of being a threat to the U.S. Supporting these freedom fighter organizations is the most cost-effective way that I can possibly think of to defend the interests of the U.S. and to also do something which I would consider to be moral, and that is to make an effort to bring freedom to these peoples under Soviet colonial sway.

Poole: Ted, would you like to give us your reasons for questioning the rightness of the doctrine as a free society's policy?

Ted Carpenter: The Reagan Doctrine, as Jack has just enunciated it, has deficiencies both from the standpoint of security concerns and also moral concerns. That is not to say that there are no strategic or moral arguments for the Reagan Doctrine, because I think there are. But a number of very important subsidiary questions have to be addressed, and I don't think most proponents of the Reagan Doctrine have ever done so.

With regard to security, we must ask ourselves whether supporting these movements inevitably enhances the security of the U.S. Conversely, would support for only some of them enhance our security? What are the risks involved—both in terms of financial cost and also the potential for long-term undesirable political and military entanglements? With regard to the moral dimension, we have to ask ourselves whether all of these insurgents are indeed freedom fighters or whether many of them, while they may be anticommunist, do not necessarily stand for freedom. I think we have to be very, very careful if we are going to link our heritage and our values to diverse insurgencies with often murky ideologies.

I also think it's an oversimplification to assert that the Soviet colonial empire extends to every regime that has a Soviet presence in that country or exhibits a clear pro-Soviet policy. They may well be rather repulsive and undesirable regimes, but that does not in and of itself make them Soviet puppets.

Laurence W. Beilenson: I think the great mistake is in calling it the Reagan Doctrine. Any successful subversion has to be long-term. Therefore it has to outlive any president, and furthermore it needs a consensus of the American people in order to make it successful. I agree more with Mr. Wheeler than I do with Mr. Carpenter. The fact is that it is a mistake to speak of Marxism. *Lenin.* The Soviet policy is what Lenin said Marx meant. If you read Lenin's works, he's perfectly clear on the whole subject. You always have to ask, by what tool? Is it war, subversion, subsidy, or what tool? Now Lenin was very clear that the major tool of the Soviet Union was not to be war but was to be subversion.

I would confine U.S. aid to money aid only, and I would not have the CIA administer it. I would make clear publicly that we would not go further than money. That is the only way you'll ever get a consensus. You have to give up the military approach completely. In Nicaragua, for instance, I would withdraw all the ships, the troops, and the CIA. Give them the money, leave them alone, let them make their own mistakes. Of course, they'll make them. But the CIA has made and will make more.

Christopher Layne: In a sense, it's perhaps wrong to call this the Reagan Doctrine. What it really represents is a revitalization of the Truman Doctrine and Cold War liberalism. It reflects a perception of the world as bipolar ideologically. It very much overstates the nature of the Soviet threat to American security.

If the Reagan Doctrine is followed to its logical conclusion, the U.S. is going to find itself with a foreign policy of undifferentiated global interventionism, because the doctrine as it has been articulated makes no distinction between what are vital American interests and what is merely desirable to accomplish in the world. As Professor George Guester phrased it, the world might be a better place and a more comfortable place if all nations were governed in the same manner as Minnesota, but the fact is the rest of the world is not like Minnesota and the world is not infinitely malleable. And for the U.S. to reshape the world—at horrible costs to its domestic institutions, at horrible economic costs, at horrible political costs internationally—is a goal, an objective, that is far beyond our material or psychological resources.

No one who considers themselves to be a foreign policy realist would ever say that in a great-power rivalry, such as that between the United States and Soviet Union, the U.S. should always forswear the use of force or the use of subversion. But the Reagan Doctrine is framed in terms of *per se*. And I think that is a very dangerous thing.

There are two other points that disturb me and that I hope will come out as this discussion continues. One is that not every government that we disapprove of in the Third World is necessarily in Moscow's camp. Nationalism and pluralism in the Third World are rampant forces that the U.S. is going to have to learn to deal with.

Finally, one reason I personally recoil from the Reagan Doctrine is the implication that by inflicting these defeats on the Soviets in the Third World the U.S. is going to somehow trigger an internal transformation of the Soviet Union. The fact is, for better or worse again, the Soviet Union is here to stay for a very long time. And history offers no convincing proof that great powers are brought low by small defeats. It does provide numerous examples of great

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powers that have been laid low by embracing foreign policies that are simply beyond their powers to sustain.

Beilenson: You say it's a danger to high institutions—in my opinion if we're going to follow this policy it should be openly announced. You should get a consensus of the American people and of Congress. You say the Soviet Union is here to stay. Of course it is. That is as Russia is here to stay. But if you look at the whole history of subversion, you will find two trends that Lenin traced.

One, a government is a sometime thing. You never know when and where it will fall. Therefore, you keep trying. You never know when revolution will break out. Anybody in Europe would have told you before the French Revolution that it would break out in England and not in France, which had been stable for two centuries, and yet it came in France and not in England.

Second, you keep talking about policy. When you talk about policy you get the fuzzy area. Always ask, by what tool will the policy be carried out? And if you go through all of them, you'll find they are all nonsense except war and subversion. They are the only things that really change things. Diplomacy can patch up. It's valuable for that purpose because people change, and it gives time to change. You say expense. Subversion is quite cheap, if you do it properly. You just give them the money and leave them alone. What costs money is subsidy. Propping up governments, which you can never do and which we should not be in the business of doing.

Layne: I think you really hit the proverbial nail right on the head. That is that there is no consensus in this country for that kind of policy. Nor is there any likelihood that we are going to see one. And it's not just a matter of saying we'll just give money to these people, we won't give weapons, we won't engage our troops. The fact is, once any great power engages its prestige in some foreign venture, even if it starts out only supporting anti-Soviet guerrilla groups with money, there is always the possibility that the other side will escalate. There is always the possibility that, as we see our own political interests engaged in the outcome, we will escalate.

The question, I think I beg to differ, is not the means of policy but the end of the policy. Why are we going to get involved in these conflicts in the Third World in the first place? How are American interests really threatened by the outcomes of most of these disputes? What is there in the Third World, beyond Central America and the Persian Gulf, that is really critical for the superpower rivalry? Dividing the world and saying that it is bipolar, ideologically as well as politically, and formulating a foreign policy that is really the domino theory writ large—that is a silly policy. That is one that the American people will not support.

Wheeler: The goal of American foreign policy should be to render the Soviet Union incapable of being a threat to the United States. And the Reagan Doctrine can be very, very effective at that. It's not the only way—SDI is another. I would adhere much, much more strictly to noninterventionist foreign policy if it weren't for the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union changes everything. As a strategy regarding the Soviet Union, the Reagan Doctrine does not deal with each one of these insurgencies in isolation but looks upon it as a structural assault upon the Soviet colonial empire. You don't want to support just one insurgency here and one there and have different policies or deal with them in isolation. You want an assault on the structure of the Soviet colonial empire itself. I look upon that structure in three layers. You have the colonies of the periphery, of the Third World; you have the border colonies of Eastern Europe; and then you have the inner colonies, which are within the Soviet Union itself.

It is ridiculous to say that the Soviet Union must be here to stay. My own personal view is that the Soviet Union will not survive until its 100th birthday. There are too many centrifigal forces within it to break it up. It will eventually Balkanize. But I'm not a Marxist, I'm a Leninist in this regard, as Larry will appreciate—I don't want to sit there and have history take care of things for me. I want to move it along as much as I can.

Carpenter: I'm disturbed by this complacent assumption that this is really a relatively cheap way of dealing with the Soviet Union. I think the sums that we've been looking at in terms of implementing the Reagan Doctrine thus far—$300-500 million a year for the Afghan rebels, $100 million to the Nicaraguan insurgency, roughly $15 million to UNITA in Angola—these are merely down payments. If we are serious about aiding those insurgencies and are really going to give them a chance to win, you are talking about sums that are substantially in excess of that. It reminds me of Everett McKinley Dirksen's statement that you talk about a billion here and a billion there and pretty soon you're talking real money.

Secondly, with regard to Jack's point, I think when one concedes that the Soviet Union poses a threat to the U.S., one must also define *what* the nature of that threat is and how doing battle with the Soviet Union in peripheral areas of the Third World somehow enhances the security of the U.S. and thereby weakens the USSR.

Wheeler: The threat in Central America is simply enormous. If the Sandinistas become established in Nicaragua, the *contras* end as a threat, and there is no military threat from the U.S., you will immediately see guerrilla war, financed by Havana and the Sandinistas, in Honduras, immediately in Costa Rica, and overwhelming support for the guerrillas in El Salvador and in Guatemala. We will have a Soviet Central America within the next few years following the consolidation of the Sandinista dictatorship in Nicaragua. There is no question of that. Next comes Mexico. I think Mexico is an Iran waiting for an ayatollah. We are dealing with a very serious situation and it's my own opinion—I'll state it flat out—it's the *contras* now or it's the Marines later. The Sandinistas have to be removed from power one way or the other, either with the *contras* or with the United States Marines.

Regarding this large sum stuff, it's just not the case that billions and billions are needed. The cost differs from case to case. But for a few million dollars and the Stinger missiles that we have given to Savimbi in Angola, they have blunted the offensive, completely stopped it this year. Our sources say that the Luanda regime has given up any thought of militarily defeating Savimbi, and the Stinger missiles have shot down between 40 and 50 Soviet fighter aircraft in the last few months. Things are going very well for Savimbi, and negotiations may begin this year. So for only a few million dollars, when it has cost the Soviets well over a billion dollars in aid to the Luanda government, that is being cost-effective. It is not going to cost us billions and billions of dollars to keep helping these insurgents.

Beilenson: I would be perfectly willing to put a ceiling of $5 billion a year for all subversion. How much do you think foreign aid has cost us since the Second World War? It has cost us over two trillion dollars since then, propping up governments. Second, when you consider nuclear power, it's simply remarkable that we haven't blown ourselves up so far. Since a nuclear war would be disastrous, the overthrow of the Soviet Union is the best hope of peace. It wouldn't guarantee peace, but it is the real hope of peace.

Wheeler: I couldn't agree more.

Layne: I hardly know where to start, the table is so rich with goodies. In sequence: really, Jack, the question isn't *contras* now or the Marines later. If your goal is to overthrow the Sandinistas, the question is the Marines now or the Marines later. Because I think there is little belief anywhere in the American government or among the American people that the *contras* are going to be able to overthrow the Sandinistas. If you define the Sandinistas as an existential threat—that they have to be removed, that you cannot tolerate a Marxist-Leninist government in Managua—the ultimate implication of that policy is that the U.S. is going to have to intervene militarily. That is where we see the implications of the Reagan Doctrine. Because if you define your interests ideologically, and if you say it is of vital interest to remove Marxist-Leninist governments in certain areas, you are not going to stop with money or with arms. I am not going to say that I don't agree that the Sandinistas are a threat. If the Soviets were to put military bases in Nicaragua...

I would confine U.S. aid to money only. You have to give up the military approach completely. Give them the money, leave them alone, let them make their own mistakes.

— Larry Beilenson

Wheeler: They have.

Layne: ...if the Nicaraguans were equipped with certain types of advanced weaponry, I would support the limited use of American military force to remove that particular threat. I am not, however, so convinced that the mere existence of a Sandinista government is going to lead to the parade of horribles that you outline. I think this is where we get into problems, because the Third World is a very unstable place. No one doubts that Mexico is an extremely fragile society. But Mexico is going to be an extremely fragile society whether the Sandinistas are there or not. There is going to be turmoil and unrest in the Third World, and the American ability ultimately to do much about it in most places is more limited than we would like or hope.

If your ultimate goal is to remove one government and install another government, you are going to have to at some point pay the cost of propping up that government. Very few governments, no matter who puts them into power, in the Third World seem to be terribly stable. If you want to ensure the continuation of friendly regimes in these places, then that means continuing American involvement.

Finally, to me the Austria, Hungary, and Turkey examples at the beginning of the century are perhaps more compelling than they are to you. By pressing a nation that has obvious problems and pushing them to the wall, I think you in fact increase the chances of war rather than minimizing them. I would just ask one further question. If the Soviet Union were to disappear tomorrow, do you really believe that great-power politics would cease? Nuclear weapons would still exist, and the risk of nuclear war would still be there, and I'm not convinced that it would be any less.

Wheeler: Drastically reduced.

Layne: Why? Because communists are inherently bad?

Wheeler: No, because the Soviet Union is a particularly virulent synergy between Great Russian imperialism and Marxist expansionism. It is this particular synergy that makes it so very dangerous. I, for example, am not worried about China. Whatever the future may hold, right now China is no threat to us. The Soviet Union is. There is no question about it, and if you take a look at the expansionism of Russia historically and graft on to it the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, you have got the most dangerous political power in history. And it has got to be removed.

Layne: You'd have to go a long way to convince me and a number of other people I know that the Soviet Union has conducted a particularly belligerent or aggressive foreign policy since 1917. The Soviet Union has followed a foreign policy that has been reasonably cautious in many respects. Certainly, it manifests the kind of imperial drive that we associate with great powers, but certainly not to the extent that one could characterize it as particularly or exceptionally virulent.

Poole: Like the British Empire?

Layne: Or Germany during the Wilhelmine period. Or even the U.S. during the

1890s and the early part of the century, when we blossomed as a great power. The Soviet Union certainly has acted like an empire, but it has not acted in a way markedly different from other imperial powers seeking their place in the sun.

Wheeler: Completely untrue.

Carpenter: Jack's comments underscore again that the Reagan Doctrine seems to be a meld of old bipolar assumptions with a global domino theory. I think both of those assumptions are inherently holey. Jack says that China, for example, is no threat to the U.S. It wasn't all that long ago that policymakers in Washington assumed that the mere presence of a Communist regime in Beijing enhanced the power of the Soviet Union. He again assumes that the presence of a pro-Soviet regime anywhere augments the power of the Soviet empire. But the Soviets constantly suffer reversals. Obvious examples: Yugoslavia, 1948; China in the late 1950s and early 1960s; Egypt in the early 1970s; Ghana in the early 1970s. The mere ascension to power of a pro-Soviet government does not necessarily mean that Moscow is going to be in total control.

This kind of strategy is not going to enhance prospects for peace. If anything, I think it dangerously escalates the possibility of war. To take just one example, we, or at least policymakers within the Reagan administration, have stressed that we have got to be concerned about developments in Nicaragua. Why? Well, Central America is our backyard. How often have we heard that phrase? That being the case, what about U.S. efforts to interfere in Afghanistan? If we are going to talk "spheres of influence" here, Afghanistan is not only in the Soviets' backyard, it's on the Soviet Union's back porch. That kind of interference can provoke a normally rational, shrewd, albeit ruthless and unscrupulous, government into taking rash action.

Beilenson: We all keep talking about great-power politics just as though the nuclear bomb had never existed. All this business of aircraft carriers to project our power—we don't want to project our power, we don't need allies. I am strictly a noninterventionist. I make the one exception of aiding, only against Communist governments, insurgencies by money only. It isn't necessary to overthrow the government, it's only necessary to keep them busy. If you keep them too damn *busy* to do anything else, you've accomplished your purpose.

The right is courting danger. If our assistance gives a country a brutal, corrupt dictatorship, those who supported that are going to have to answer for it.

— Ted Carpenter

What we should do is give them a steady stream of money and leave them alone. The CIA does not know how to manage anything. How do we police the money? Well, some of it's going to get embezzled. The Spanish insurgents, when England gave them money, embezzled or wasted 90 percent. But the 10 percent helped defeat Napoleon. There is a very simple way of monitoring the money. You say, here is the money but we are going to pay you in installments. Here is the first installment. We are not going to ask you how you are going to spend it, but please don't come back for the second installment unless you can account for the first installment—and not with easy living in Miami. You don't have to give them sophisticated weapons.

Wheeler: I agree substantially, but money just doesn't do it in certain instances. When the Soviets wage counterinsurgency warfare, one of their major weapons is the MI-24 Hind helicopter gunship. You just can't take this thing out of the air with anything that is available on the open arms market. Sam Cummings, who is one of the biggest arms dealers there is—he can't get you a Stinger, no matter how much money you come to him with. The only way you can get a Stinger is if the U.S. government gives it to you.

To respond to Chris's point about the Soviets as an empire, I don't think he understands the difference between a totalitarian government and an authoritarian government. To establish a totalitarian regime the way the Soviets do is the complete politicization of the entire society. A Marxist-Leninist government has never been overthrown from within, without foreign intervention. That the Soviet Union will not allow that to happen is the Brezhnev Doctrine—and it is the Brezhnev Doctrine that has to be broken.

Layne: I think the great mistake that Jack makes, and it is typical of people who look at the world through an ideological prism, is to assume that a nation's foreign policy is dictated by its domestic institutions. All of us around the table here could agree that the Soviet Union is, at least in terms of its domestic system, an evil empire with a history that causes all of us to feel repelled. If one looks at the way the Soviet Union has conducted its foreign policy, however, one sees that Soviet goals in the international system have been very constant—constant over time dating back to well before the Soviet revolution. I think we want to keep those two points separate. Of course, I don't think you can keep those two points separate, because I think you and people like you who have this tremendous ideological drive feel that the world will never be safe as long as there are nations with differing ideologies than Americans.

Wheeler: The world will never be safe with the Soviet Union. It's not different ideologies.

Layne: Well, Hans Morgenthau was much more perceptive, Jack, when he said that the great myth of going on ideological crusades is to assume that once you exorcise the devil, there won't be a devil popping up subsequently to the one you've killed. Once the Soviet Union is removed, there will be some other power, some other system, that you will find just as flagrant and just as egregious.

Beilenson: It is true that subversion has existed, irrespective of the ideology, from the beginning. Thus the Athenians subverted and were an evil empire outside of Athens, where they were a democracy of sorts if you forget the 400,000 slaves. But throughout history, subversion has been two things: It has been spotty geographically and it has been an auxiliary to war; expected or in progress. Lenin substituted two things, time and space. He made it universal and he was patient. Plant a nucleus and wait it out. That is what the Soviets have consistently pursued. And, incidentally, the most conservative and cautious rulers were Lenin and Stalin. They got progressively more adventurous ever since.

Poole: The Soviets have?

Beilenson: Yes.

Carpenter: I'd like to comment on Jack's tendency to see the Soviet Union as this great dynamic threat to the U.S. I think his characterization would be far more accurate if one placed it, say, 20 to 25 years ago. Soviet dynamism and particularly the Soviet example had its greatest power and appeal in the Third World during the 1950s and '60s. The Soviet Union certainly remains a serious imperial power, but I think the ability of the Soviets to project their power into the Third World has already reached its zenith and is now on a downward slide, which makes the Reagan Doctrine even less necessary.

Wheeler: I think history of recent years is a pretty effective refutation of that. It was during the era of so-called detente in the '70s that Soviet expansionism really peaked. You can list country after country after country that was subsumed within the Soviet colonial empire in the aftermath of Watergate and Vietnam: Vietnam itself, of course, Laos, Cambodia, Ethiopia, South Yemen, Afghanistan, Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Grenada—country after country after country. To say that they are receding is wrong. They have a very dynamic program. They have at least 2,000 Baluchi students at the University of Kabul to subvert Baluchistan, which is southern Pakistan and southern Iran. That, of course, is a target—then they are right across the Persian Gulf from the Saudi oil fields.

The Soviets have four primary strategic targets right now. One is Baluchistan and the Saudi oil fields. The second is South Africa—their sponsorship of the ANC leaves no doubt—and Namibia and, as a matter of fact, Zaire. We are getting increasing reports of several thousand guerrillas now, Katanga and other Zairian guerrillas trying to generate an insurgency to overthrow Mobutu. So it is virtually all of southern Africa below the equator. Then Central America, as we just discussed, and the Finlandization of Europe and dismantlement of NATO. To say that it is receding is to completely misread the situation.

Poole: I'd like us to focus on some of the practical difficulties in attempting to implement something like the Reagan Doctrine. Who should be eligible for such aid if one proposes to do it? Should such aid be limited to groups fighting against Soviet-type states or extended to people revolting against a corrupt Marcos in the Philippines? What kind of standards should a group have to meet? Should only a group that is working toward a democratic society get aid? Or should a group like the Mujaheddin, which will probably set up a theocracy and one that is hardly a free society, be eligible? If there are multiple groups in a country, should they all get aid? At what point would the aid stop?

Layne: The nature of the questions asked suggest some of the difficulties of implementing the policy. The questions you've got to really ask are what interests are vital, what interests are not, what is it that you can mobilize public support for. Because it is conceivable that following a particular policy would in fact serve the national interest but there may not be public support for it. In which case it really makes no sense, unless you're willing to countenance the kind of thing we've gone through for the last four months.

I would suggest that one of the real flaws of a policy like the Reagan Doctrine, which does justify itself as a global policy, is that it causes people to feel very apprehensive, because they feel they are being led slowly but surely down a slippery slope. They don't know where the particular intervention is going to stop or whether it is going to lead to a series of interventions. Consequently, policies such as aid to the *contras*, which could conceivably be justified in traditional *realpolitik* terms, have trouble gaining support because people are actually more frightened of the implications of the policy as it's articulated than they are inclined to see the policy in discrete terms: Here is a particular problem, here is a particular threat to American security interests, and this is a specific response to this particular threat.

It is a perfectly rational argument to say we have to support the *contras* in Nicaragua because Central America is historically an area in which the U.S. has very special and justifiable interests. If the Soviets aren't willing to recognize the primacy of our interest here, then we certainly have every right to support the Afghan rebels in order to say to the Soviets: Look, if you don't like us mucking around in your backyard then negotiate with us. Because we are not going to stop doing this until you stop what you are doing in our sphere of influence. So, you can justify these things in terms of traditional diplomacy, rather than as part of a seamless web of global interventionism.

Wheeler: It's just that traditional diplomacy doesn't work with the Soviets. They don't recognize spheres of influence. That is what makes them a different kind of political power, a different kind of empire. No government is legitimate unless it is aligned with them. That is the basic Soviet position.

I do not think that we should have an ad hoc policy, but it should be a strategy that is directed at the entire structure of the Soviet colonial empire. If it is laid out that way, rather than causing apprehension, you give people hope that Soviet power can be reduced in the world. It is just what I call the "Soviet myth of hopelessness" that makes people like Dan Rather ask an Afghan Mujahed, "Why are you fighting in a war you can't possibly win?" The Afghan looks at him as if to say, "What, are you crazy? The British didn't beat us. What makes you think the Russians are some kind of superman? Of course we can beat the Russians." But it is the thought that the Russians can't be beaten, that they are invincible, that makes people lose hope.

I do think the Reagan Doctrine should be limited to anti-Soviet insurgencies. The last thing we want to do is to have a global interventionist policy. What in the world business is it of ours what government the South Africans have?

Layne: What business is it of ours what

government the Nicaraguans have? Because they are communist?

Wheeler: No, because they are a direct threat.

Layne: Are the Angolans a direct threat to the security interests of the United States?

Wheeler: The Reagan Doctrine is not a messianistic doctrine to spread our form of American constitutional democracy to the world. It is directed at weakening Soviet power in the world and not just stopping expansionism.

As far as standards, an obvious example where you draw the line would be the Khmer Rouge. So, okay, they're up against the Soviets, they're up against Vietnam's occupation of Cambodia. But you cannot back a people like the Khmer Rouge.

You would try to do as much as you can to educate the leaders of these movements on the benefits of free-market economics. We have had a lot of success in that regard. I gave Savimbi my copy of Milton Friedman's *Free to Choose*. I told Friedman that once and he was very happy. How much of a free-market guy Savimbi is, I'm not sure, but certainly it's not going to be any kind of socialist dictatorship. At the very least it will be some kind of mixed economy. Somebody like Dhlakama of RENAMO in Mozambique is almost explicitly pro-capitalist, explicity pro-democrat.

Poole: What happens if you have social democrats or socialists who are wanting to overthrow a Soviet regime?

Wheeler: You have an example of that in Ethiopia. I think that is one reason why you don't hear too much about the EPLF, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, because they are Marxist. So there is a lot less enthusiasm for them. It is a lot easier to develop support and enthusiasm for anti-Soviet insurgencies that proclaim democratic ideas and pro-free-market ideals.

Poole: What do you think, Ted or Chris, about the practicability of being able to set criteria for who will get aid under such a doctrine?

Layne: People are going to ask questions similar to my interjection. Not everybody in this country thinks that it is a practical policy to try and not just roll back the Soviet empire but ultimately cause the collapse of the Soviet Union. Since most people don't, they are bound to ask why is it that we should aid people fighting Soviet-supported governments and not support resistance movements in places like South Africa or the Philippines.

The question comes down to not "How bad are things now?" but "Are things likely to be better or worse in the future if we replace regimes?" Americans have two problems. First, they really need to be persuaded that supporting any kind of foreign involvement—whether it's the *contras*, obviously, or the Afghan rebels or the ANC, if you happen to be of that persuasion—is really in the national interest. Americans like to talk and think about, "Gee, wouldn't it be nice if the world were democratic." But when it comes to putting up money for it or sending their sons to die for it, they become extremely reluctant to contemplate real sacrifice to achieve those goals unless they are persuaded that there is some immediate overriding threat to American security interests.

The great myth of ideological crusades is to assume that once you exorcise the devil, there won't be another devil popping up.

— Christopher Layne

And secondly, there is the problem of hypocrisy involved. I don't mean that as a slur or an accusation. I mean it in terms of a perception. Among the population as a whole, they are not really keen or interested in subtleties. Any policy that is fundamentally articulated in moral ideological terms has got to be consistent. That is the one advantage of *realpolitik* policy. You don't have to say I'm being morally consistent. All you have to do is ask yourself, is this effective? Does this serve my interests?

Carpenter: Bob, I think the various factors that you listed in the beginning of this portion of the discussion indicate just what a potential can of worms the Reagan Doctrine really is. In sponsoring indigenous insurgencies, we face two choices, neither of them very good. One, we can support any insurgency so long as it is anti-Soviet, no questions asked. If we do that, then the Reagan Doctrine becomes nothing more than the flip side of our long-standing policy of supporting authoritarian regimes in the Third World, no matter what their human rights records, no matter what their views on economics, purely because they are anticommunist. That policy has made us legions of enemies throughout the Third World. Had we not pursued that kind of near-sighted strategy, the Ugly Russian would have become apparent throughout the Third World long ago.

On the other hand, if we choose to apply purity tests to these various movements, then we face a number of problems. How pure is pure? Is support for democratic political values more important than for capitalist economics? Or vice versa? Even worse, what do we do when there are a number of factions? Do we pick and choose? That again implies a tremendous degree of American paternalism, which I think—given the national sentiment that is so strong throughout the Third World—is going to be deeply resented.

Finally, sponsorship implies responsibility for the ultimate result. That concerns me very deeply, because I think the left in this country has managed to discredit itself by its naive views of the kinds of regimes it supported in the past. We recall leftists saying that Mao Zedong was an agrarian reformer. How many people saw Ho Chi Minh as a noble revolutionary? Herbert Matthews, of course, with Fidel Castro as the George Washington of Cuba. I'm afraid the right is courting the same kind of danger when it embraces Third World insurgencies. If we sell the American people on the idea that we are supporting these revolutions not just out of national security interests but because it's moral to do it, and then our assistance gives a country a brutal, corrupt dictatorship, I think those on the right who supported that are going to have to answer for that, and I suspect the leftist elements in society will never let them forget.

Wheeler: Ted makes some very good points which have to be addressed. First, it would be very, very difficult to get a worse form of government than these Soviet colonies have already—to get a more brutal dictatorship than the government already in Angola or Mozambique or Nicaragua or Afghanistan or South Yemen or wherever you want. It's my experience that most all, certainly not all, of these insurgencies are genuinely motivated by some form of democratic ideal, because they have seen what the alternative has done to their country. And I can't help but thinking that with any one of these insurgencies, especially the ones I'm familar with, you'd have a government that is a heck of a lot better than the one you have right now.

Layne: I won't argue with that, because

I don't think you can look inside a crystal ball and see what is going to happen. But even if that is true and the government you end up with tends to be undemocractic—in the sense that it does not mirror American values—you are still going to have a very serious problem with how the public perceives policy in this country. Because again, it's one thing for a bunch of people who are patently interested in foreign policy to sit in a room and debate this issue, but ultimately you have to go sell a policy to the American people and the Congress. And it seems historically that Americans like to make judgments on a rather grand basis. Either a government is democratic, like us, or it's not. If it's not, it's bad and we don't like supporting bad governments.

Wheeler: Nothing succeeds like success. If you want to get the American people behind this policy it has got to start winning. Once the American people see that the policy is winning, that we are winning against the Soviets, you will see the Americans behind it. Americans do not like the Soviet Union.

Beilenson: Chris Layne advocated *realpolitik*. Look at the result. It has drenched the world with blood for thousands of years. It has forced us to thievery, deceit, deception. What is so good about it? What he neglects is that it is not only the Russians who break agreements. All nations break agreements, including the United States. So when you get an agreement, it is not worth the paper it is written on. Do I think it will make a difference if the Soviet Union is overthrown? Yes, because most of Western Europe, who caused all the trouble in the world, has lost the desire to fight. So, the real trouble, the one country that really possesses a huge nuclear arsenal, is the Soviet Union.

Layne: First, for the record, I think that all the bloodshed we witness through international history is a reflection that international politics is characterized by anarchy. It is not the responsibility of the doctrine of *realpolitik*, which is a logical response to an anarchic condition. Secondly, all powers violate agreements. That is why any diplomatic agreement is a function of the balance of interests, because sometimes even rival powers have overlapping interests, and the balance of power. It is why diplomacy must always be supported by military strength. Third point, I still find myself amazed—it's not just a view that has been articulated by Larry but one that we run across frequently discussing the Reagan Doctrine—I'm amazed at how the mind can hold at the same time the thought that the best way to achieve peace is to follow a policy that is aimed at overthrowing the Soviet Union.

Wheeler: Stange but true.

Layne: One of the major contributing factors to the start of the First World War was precisely the desire of certain people to overthrow Austria-Hungary. There are times when destroying your enemy can lead to your own destruction. I think maybe that takes us to another point. The fact is that, despite all the alarm that neoconservatives express, the American people don't feel the same sense of threat that neoconservatives feel from the Soviet Union. They feel that America, as long as it has credible deterrence, as long as we maintain reasonably strong military forces, is a secure nation and is capable of protecting its interests. That presents the neoconservatives with a problem. You passionately believe that the American people are wrong. You passionately believe that the threat exists. How do you implement a policy or justify a policy that commands no public support? Are you really going to tell me that the end justifies the means? That it is all right for Ollie North and John Poindexter and Bill Casey to conduct a foreign policy in defiance of Congress?

Wheeler: For most Americans, America is an island and the rest of the world exists in the mists in some hazy fashion on the other side of the horizon. But it is just not true that the American people do not look upon the Soviet Union as a threat. As Sandinista Commander Tomas Borge said, "The struggle for Nicaragua will not be won in the jungles of Jinotega or Zalaya provinces. It will be won on the front pages of American newspapers." They have been extraordinarily proficient at manipulating public opinion and disinforming the American people on what is going on in Nicaragua.

The historical fact is that when we gave up in Southeast Asia, there was a bloodbath of indescribable proportions. Millions of people were put to death. You did have a number of countries go quickly down the Soviet drain. You nad an extraordinary extension of Soviet military strength. If the same thing happens in Nicaragua, it is not 8,000 miles away. It is right here. And it is going to happen again—a similar disaster—unless we take care of it. I am arguing that there is a threat whether or not the American people recognize it. And that threat has to be dealt with.

Layne: And I am arguing that in a system of democracy such as the U.S., it is really not your decision to make. I don't think you can just cavalierly dismiss the structure of this country constitutionally and say that Congress has no role or that it is not, in terms of the constitutional framework of this country, considered to be the embodiment of public opinion. But whether it is or it isn't, the fact is that you haven't been able to persuade Congress and you haven't been able to persuade the public, as reflected in the opinion polls. I have no doubt that if the Soviets were to put a naval base in Nicaragua tomorrow, you would have no trouble getting congressional authorization and public support.

Wheeler: They have, at Bluefields. One is being built right now.

Layne: Well, that is an allegation.

Wheeler: Bluefields and El Bluff. There are satellite photographs to prove it.

Layne: If there were Soviet naval forces deployed or Soviet combat jet aircraft deployed in Nicaragua, there would be no debate in this country. Even the most liberal Democrats have said that the U.S. should take military action. Readers of REASON would be somewhat amazed at

the argument that a foreign policy elite has the power to arrogate to itself the power to say, "Well the people in this country are threatened but they don't realize it, so we will take the decision out of their hands and make it for them, because we are somehow wiser than they are or more perceptive than they are." Now maybe you are. But the fact is, unless you are quarreling with the fundamental structure of the American system of government, that's really not a decision for an elite to make. If it cannot command public opinion, it cannot command congressional support, then the American government has no business doing it behind the American people's back.

Carpenter: Every executive branch official who has ever dealt with foreign policy assumed he was pursuing a policy that was in the national interest. If you allow that branch of government, or even worse a small subgovernment, to decide for itself that it is going to pursue a foreign policy initiative and the Congress and the American people be damned, there is going to be one of two results. Either you are going to seriously erode our entire constitutional system, or at some point Congress and the American people are going to undercut you hopelessly and your policy will fall.

Wheeler: I am not disagreeing with that. But I think this whole discussion of the rule of the people is naive. We do have a foreign policy elite governing the foreign policy of the U.S. It's the foreign-service establishment of the State Department. And to think that Ronald Reagan tells them what to do is to be seriously estranged from reality. They have their own agenda. They have made every effort to undercut the Reagan Doctrine, they have made every effort to get Ronald Reagan to sell out the *contras*, to cut some kind of deal, to take a piece of paper—a promise of the communists—at face value.

Poole: Here we sit in March of 1987 with the Iran-*contra* thing going on. Do each of you think there is going to be a Reagan Doctrine in the future?

Layne: I don't think that in January 1989 there will be a Reagan Doctrine, for the obvious reason that Ronald Reagan will no longer be president. But the more important reason is that I don't think that the neoconservatives and the Reagan Doctrine will emerge—not only from Iran-*contra* but also from the experience of the eight years of this administration—with credibility in hand.

On the other hand, I don't think that means we're going to see the end of American support to various anti-Soviet resistance groups. I don't think we're going to see an end to the debate on whether the U.S. should intervene, whether it should uphold authoritarian governments or pull the rug out from under them. These are problems that have plagued us since we emerged as a great power, going back to McKinley's decision to annex the Philippines. I think that to sell those kinds of interventions abroad, however, people who advocate them are going to have to meet a much higher standard. To not simply be able to rally public support by pointing to a communist menace and assume that the American people will fall in line. The great difference between now and the late 1940s is that kind of rhetoric doesn't get people mobilized. People learned from Vietnam. They want things explained to them and justified to them, and they want to know that there are damned important reasons why the United States becomes involved in some overseas conflict before they are going to support that policy.

It's the contras now or the Marines later. The Sandinistas have to be removed from power one way or the other.

— Jack Wheeler

Wheeler: It's impossible to predict the future, but we should make a distinction between the prospects of the Reagan Doctrine and the prospects of these various freedom fighter organizations. Because they are not our pawns and puppets. They emerged spontaneously and indigenously and, with or without our support, they will continue, and this includes the *contras*. The one democratic insurgency that has the best prospect is the one that we do not support in any way—RENAMO in Mozambique. The Mozambique government is just about to collapse, the RENAMO forces have denied it control of about 80 percent of the country, and I think there is a high degree of likelihood that RENAMO will militarily overthrow the regime sometime this year.

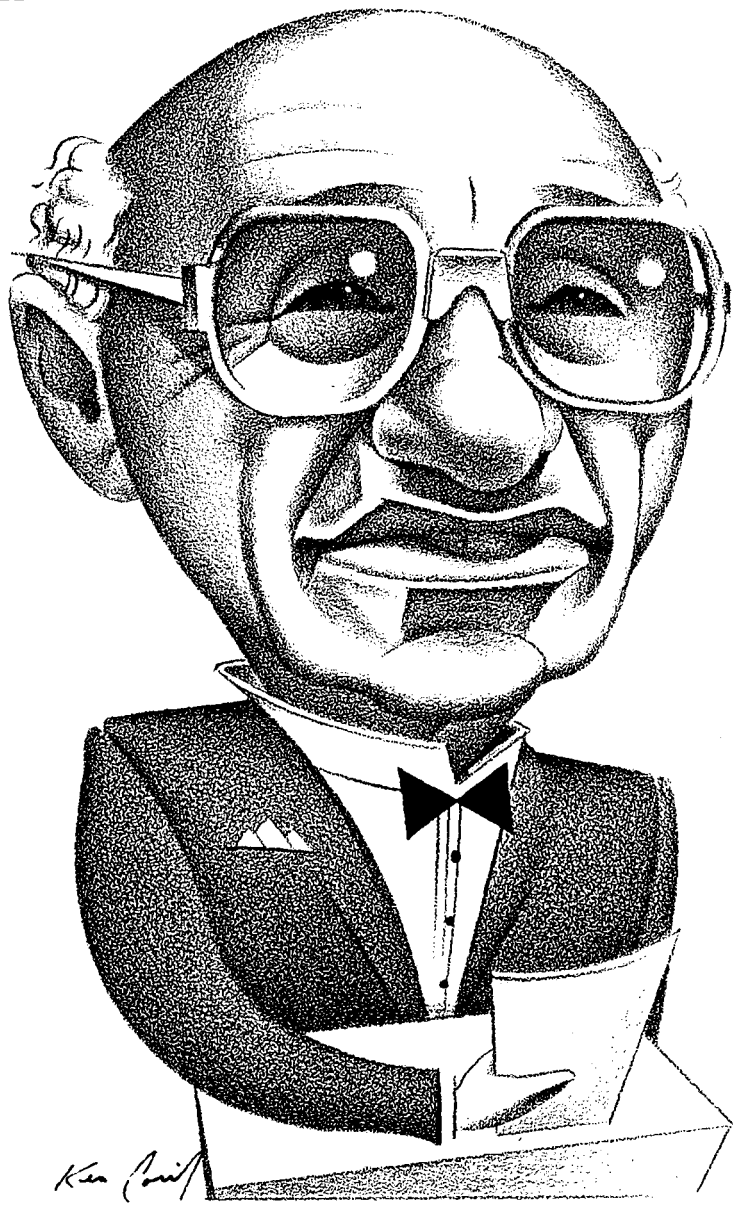
The Reagan Doctrine will succeed or fail according to the success or failure of these various insurgencies. If Dhlakama wins in Mozambique, Savimbi will win very quickly in Angola. That will have disastrous effects on Castro—45,000 Cubans have to go home (and a lot of them with AIDS, by the way)—and it will seriously damage his efforts in Nicaragua. So, if these insurgencies start to succeed, the Reagan Doctrine will remain the Reagan Doctrine, just as the Brezhnev Doctrine is still called the Brezhnev Doctrine.

Carpenter: The Reagan Doctrine faces a fundamental problem, and that is that it creates potential arenas for undesirable entanglements for the United States. I suspect the American people are smart enough to realize that, and they are going to pursue this doctrine with a great deal of caution. It's instructive to remember that in the early 1950s, the doctrine of rollback had a great deal of public support, so long as it was confined to rhetoric. When revolts erupted in East Germany, in Poland, in Hungary, and we had to make the decision of whether we were really going to commit our prestige, our resources, and run the risks involved, rollback evaporated very quickly. I suspect that the Reagan Doctrine may exert enough influence to entangle the U.S. in Third World struggles. That will be the death of the doctrine. I hope we can avoid that. We already went that route in Vietnam, and I don't think we want a repeat performance.

Beilenson: Hindsight is a lot better than foresight. If you want to know whether the Reagan Doctrine will be in existence, tell me whether the stock market will be up or down. If it's collapsed, the Democrats will win. If it's healthy and at 3,000, the Republicans will win. Politics is just that simple. If I had to choose between Jack and the other side of the table, I would choose Jack. But I'd choose neither if I could. I think that the forces we have to conciliate are the young idealists among us. They must be won over to our side, and they'll never be won over to a policy that can make them fight abroad. Therefore, the chief reason I never want to send in the Marines is that people with good sense—and I say this as one who has fought in two wars—don't want to fight abroad if they can avoid it.

Poole: I think we can see we don't have anything like consensus—nor did we expect there to be one on such a tough issue. Thank you all very much.

Where Are We on the Road to Liberty?



Advocates of freedom are no longer an isolated remnant. But we are still fighting the odds—and the odds include many of us.

by **Milton Friedman**

In the past few decades there has been a sea change in the direction of the ideas of the public. The climate of opinion has moved sharply toward belief in a greater role for free markets and belief that big government is the problem and not the solution.

On the other hand, in the world of practice—the world in which we live—we are now farther from a free society than we were 30 or 40 years ago. The world of ideas has gone one way, and up to now the world of practice has gone the other way. And those two movements, though superficially contradictory, are closely connected. In my opinion, the major reason that we have made progress in the world of ideas is precisely because we have regressed in the world of practice.

Consider first the world of ideas. I recently wrote a new preface for a reissue of my wife's and my book *Capitalism and Freedom*, originally published in 1962. Referring to the time when the lectures incorporated in the book were given, I wrote: "It is hard even for persons who were then active, let alone for the more than half of the current population who were then less than 10 years old or had not yet been born, to reconstruct the intellectual climate of the times. Those of us who were deeply concerned about the danger to freedom and prosperity from the growth of government, from the triumph of welfare-state and Keynesian ideas, were a small beleaguered minority regarded as eccentrics by the great majority of our fellow intellectuals."

One bit of evidence in support of that description of the intellectual climate at the time is the treatment that our book received. Here was a book directed at the general public that was destined to sell more than 400,000 copies in the next 18

ILLUSTRATIONS • KEN CORRAL

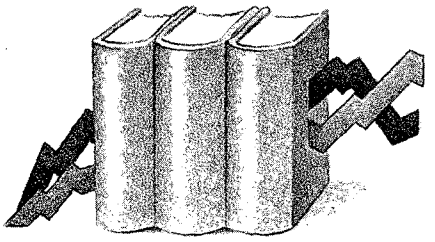
years, written by an established professor at a leading university and published by a leading university press. Yet it was not reviewed in a single popular American publication. It was not reviewed in the *New York Times*, the *New York Herald Tribune* (which was in existence then), or even the *Chicago Tribune*, or in *Time* or *Newsweek*. It *was* reviewed by the London *Economist* and by the major professional journals. But it is inconceivable that a book of the same kind on the other side of the subject by an economist of comparable professional standing would have received a similar silent treatment.

By contrast, as evidence of the change in the intellectual climate of opinion, consider the very different reception of the book my wife and I published in 1980, *Free to Choose*, which was reviewed by every major publication. As further evidence, consider the comments Heritage Foundation president Ed Fuelner recently made at a dinner there. He drew a sharp contrast between the few and sparse "think tanks" on our side some three decades ago and the number now. He could mention only four that existed back then: the Hoover Institution, which is still here today; ISI, at that time called the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, which has changed its name but kept the initials; an embryonic AEI (American Enterprise Institute), as he described it; and CSIS (Center for Strategic and International Studies). He should also have included Leonard Read's Foundation for Economic Education (FEE), which really originated in Los Angeles with Leonard's work at the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.

By contrast Ed reeled off a long list of additional institutions currently devoted to developing and spreading the idea of limited government and free markets, plus a host of others trying to translate ideas into action. Similarly with respect to publications, the only one he could think of that was devoted to promoting the ideas of freedom 30-40 years ago was FEE's *Freeman*. Today we can list a whole series of publications on that general side, though with great differences in specific areas—*National Review, Human Events, The American Spectator, Policy Review*, and REASON. But I belabor the obvious in stressing how great has been the change in the intellectual climate of opinion.

The more interesting question is, why has there been so great a shift in the attitudes of the public? I'm sorry to confess that I do not believe it occurred because of the persuasive power of such books as Friedrich Hayek's *Road to Serfdom* or Ayn Rand's *Fountainhead* or *Atlas Shrugged* or our own *Capitalism and Freedom*. Such books certainly played a role, but I believe the major reason for the change is the extraordinary force of factual evidence—and that is the link between the world of ideas and the world of practice.

The great hopes that had been placed in Russia and China by the collectivists and socialists turned into ashes. It is very hard today for the pilgrims who seek the new future to find much sustenance in places like Russia and China—indeed, the only hope in those countries comes from China's recent moves toward the free market. The pilgrims today are driven to going to Nicaragua and Cuba. Similarly, the hopes that were placed in Fabian socialism and the



Hardly anyone today anywhere will say that the way to get efficient production is through nationalized enterprises.

welfare state in Britain or the New Deal in the United States were disappointed. One major government program after another started with the very best aims and with noble objectives and turned out not to deliver the goods.

Hardly anyone today anywhere in the world will say that the way to get efficient production is through nationalized enterprises or that the way to solve every social problem is to have government throw more money at it. In that area we have won the battle. The left is intellectually bankrupt. The neoconservatives are correct in defining themselves as (modern) liberals mugged by reality—still retaining many of their earlier values but driven to recognize that they cannot achieve them through government. Somewhat reluctant libertarians, at least on economic issues, but largely libertarians nonetheless.

In this country, the Vietnam war helped undermine belief in the beneficence of government. And most of all, as the great British constitutional lawyer A. V. Dicey predicted nearly 75 years ago, the rising burden of taxation produced a reaction from the general public against the growth of government and the spread of its influence.

Ideas played their part. But they played their part not by producing a reaction against the spread of government but by determining the form that that reaction took. The role we play as intellectuals is not to persuade anybody but to keep options open and to provide alternative policies that can be adopted when people decide they have to make a change.

What about the world of practice? We are farther from our ideal of a free society than we were 30-40 years ago in almost every dimension. Take the most obvious: in 1950 spending by federal, state, and local governments was 25 percent of national income; in 1985 it was 44 percent. And in order to get a real basis of comparison, in 1930 it was 15 percent. Everybody in the country is working today until nearly the middle of June to pay for the expenses of government before they can start paying for their own expenses. It was bad enough 35 years ago when people were working until after April Fool's Day.

In the past 30 years, a host of new government agencies has been created. We now have a Department of Energy, a Department of Education, a National Endowment for the Arts and another for the Humanities, EPA, OSHA, and on and on. We have a whole sequence of additional agencies whereby civil servants decide for us what is in our best interest. In *Capitalism and Freedom* we listed 14 "activities currently undertaken by government in the U.S., that cannot...validly be justified in terms of the principles" of a liberal society. This list is far from comprehensive. And only one of those activities—military conscription—has been terminated.

A couple of others have shown some slight improvement—airlines have been deregulated, and regulation Q, which limited the interest rates that banks could pay on deposits, was eliminated. But most activities have been made more extensive, and many new ones have been added.

Contrasting 1985 with 1950 is unduly pessimistic in some ways because there *has* been a change—ideas have started to have an influence. But the most you can say is that the rate of expansion of government spending has been slowed down, not

reversed. Government spending as a fraction of income has continued to go up; only the *rate* of increase has slowed down. We're going to hell a little more slowly, but we're still going in that direction.

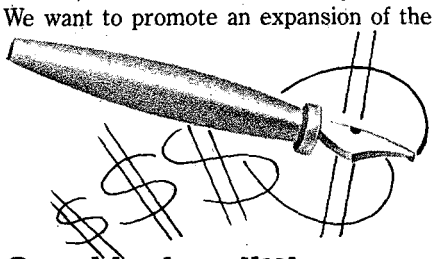
There have been a few victories. We did, after all, get rid of the CAB that regulated the airlines. We did get rid of military conscription—that's something truly to celebrate. But the improvement has been meager. The most one can say is that no major new spending programs have been passed in the last six years. The increase in government spending, outside the military, has been predominantly the effect of earlier programs. So we can be a bit more optimistic by narrowing our focus and looking at the last five or six years.

I do not cite the contrast between the world of ideas and the world of practice as a reason for either dismay or pessimism; on the contrary, it reflects a typical situation. There always is and always has been a long lag between a change in the climate of opinion and a change in actual policy. Let me cite Dicey again. In his great book *Law and Public Opinion in the Nineteenth Century*, he wrote: "The opinion which changes the law is in one sense the opinion of the time when the law is actually altered; in another sense it has often been in England the opinion prevalent some twenty or thirty years before that time; it has been as often as not in reality the opinion not of the day but of yesterday." History suggests that trends in practice lag long after trends in opinion.

Take the situation in 1776, the year in which Adam Smith published *The Wealth of Nations*, with its case for free trade—and also, interestingly, the year of the Declaration of Independence in this country. It was 70 years before the Corn Laws were abolished in Britain and free trade was achieved. Yet Adam Smith started to win the battle in the world of ideas in the 18th century. The belief in laissez-faire and free markets lasted for 75 to 100 years, until the 1870s or so. Policy followed, but it didn't really start rolling until early in the 19th century. And it continued rolling in the same direction after a new trend started in the world of ideas—a trend away from free markets and laissez-faire and toward Fabian socialism and the welfare state.

That trend of opinion also lasted for nearly 100 years, into the 1950s or '60s, but it too influenced policy only after a long lag. In Britain the change in policies did not occur until just before World War I, say 1908-1914. In the United States the change did not occur until the New Deal in 1933. The same thing is happening now. Ideas, the climate of opinion, started to change in the 1940s or '50s—slowly at first. The trend of opinion has been gathering strength, and it will continue to do so. But policy has been lagging behind and has only recently started to move in the same direction.

The real lesson to be drawn from this contrast between what has been happening in the world of ideas and what has been happening in the world of practice is that we cannot afford to relax our efforts and coast in the belief that the job is done. On the contrary, the truly hard job lies ahead. Of course we want agreement with our ideas—but primarily as a step toward the translation of those ideas into practice. We want to promote an expansion of the freedom of individuals to use their resources in accordance with their own values.



Consider how little we have managed to accomplish in the past six years under circumstances that could not have been more favorable.

Although we are no longer an isolated remnant or simply a kooky group of people, we are still fighting against the odds. And the odds include most of *us* as well. We must not kid ourselves; we must not suppose that we are different from the rest of our fellow citizens. I include in the odds that we are facing all the businessmen who are in favor of freedom for everyone else provided they can get special taxes or a tariff or regulatory treatment for themselves. We have to face the problem of the intellectuals, our colleagues at the universities and academies, who are in favor of freedom for themselves provided they can control everybody else.

More important, we are battling the economic inertia that derives from the interest every one of us has in retaining any privilege or benefit he has been able to accumulate and has come to regard as his right. Each of us is capable of truly believing that what is good for us is good for the country and thereby justifying a special exception to the general rule we profess to favor. Over and over I am impressed by the letters I receive from people who say, "Oh, I agree with you thoroughly, I agree with your views, but..." And it's that "but." The most extreme case I had recently was somebody who agreed fully with me about free trade but thought the bee industry was an exception. His excuse was the importance of having bees to pollinate fruit trees and other plants.

So it would be a mistake to suppose that because we have largely won the intellectual battle, because the left is intellectually bankrupt, we have also won the practical battle, the battle of changing the policy of the country and moving in the right direction. We are very far from that. Certainly most of us, including myself, are disappointed in how little we have managed to accomplish in the past six years under circumstances that could not have been more favorable. We have had a president who, though you may disagree with some of his particular positions, is clearly committed to reducing the size and scope and role of government and who has been willing to stick to his principles—the first president in my lifetime (and I suspect in yours) who was elected not because he said what the people wanted to hear but because the people had come to want to hear what he had been saying for a long time.

And yet in the period of his ascendancy the most we have succeeded in doing is preventing the growth of government from increasing still more. In some areas we have moved forward, but we certainly have not achieved as much as most of us had hoped.

But this is not a reason for distress. It is in line with what history tells us: these movements do not come easily and overnight, but once you get started in a certain direction you tend to keep on going that way. The prospect is bright, but only if we continue trying to spread our ideas and persuade *ourselves*, more importantly than anyone else, to be consistent with the beliefs we profess. ◧

Milton Friedman, who received the 1976 Nobel Prize in economics, is the author of numerous books, including Capitalism and Freedom *and* Free to Choose, *also the title of his 1980 TV series. This article is adapted from his address at the Reason Foundation's Welcome-to-Los Angeles banquet in October 1986.*

CONSTITUTION

SERIES

1787-1987

Faith of Our Founders

The Constitution's framers resisted attempts to define America as a Christian nation. The battle goes on.

by **Morton Borden**

A common denominator unites the Christian right and has a seductive appeal to many conservatives who otherwise reject evangelical or fundamentalist positions: the belief that the vast majority of Americans are Christians and share—or should share—a set of values and assumptions based on Christian teachings; that the Founders also held these values and embodied them in the Constitution; that these elements of the Constitution have been eroded by clever ACLU lawyers and other "secular humanists," who have built an artificial constitutional wall of separation between church and state never intended by the Founders.

As federal judge Frank McGarr recently declared in a case involving a crèche in Chicago's city hall, "The truth is that America's origins are Christian with the result that our fondest traditions are Christian, and that our founding fathers intended and achieved full religious freedom for all within the context of a Christian nation in the First Amendment as it was adopted, rather than as we have rewritten it."

The goal of the Christian right is to put this attitude into practice and, in the process, to make America a Christian nation by law as well as numbers. "We have together with the Protestants and the Catholics," evangelist and presidential contender Pat Robertson believes, "enough votes to run the country. And when the people say, 'We've had enough,' we are going to take over."

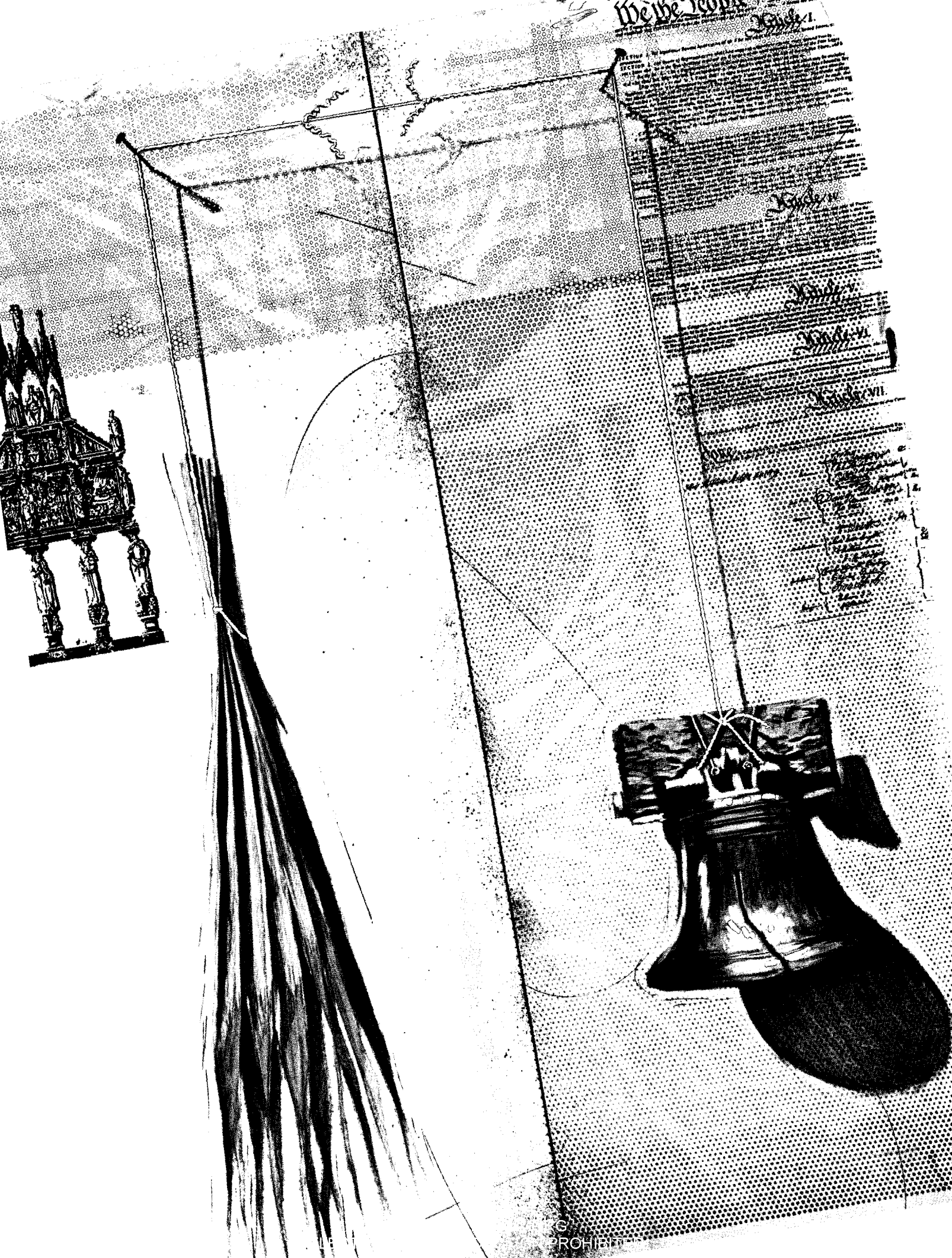
But the view that the United States began as an explicitly Christian nation, only to have that status snatched away by activist judges, is a misreading of history—and of the Constitution. This is not the first time that politically active believers have attempted to make America a Christian nation juridically as well as numerically. The Constitution has withstood similar assaults from its inception.

Liberating Document

"No religious test," says Article 6 of the Constitution, "shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." By forbidding religious tests for public office, the Constitution declared that the new country, whatever the faith of its people, was *not* legally a Christian nation. Unlike state constitutions, most of which contained religious freedom clauses analogous to the First Amendment alongside religious tests for public office, the national government would grant equal citizenship to those of any faith—or even of none.

Certainly, this is how citizens on both

RICHARD DOWNS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sides of the debate viewed the Constitution at the time. Luther Martin of Maryland, a delegate to the Philadelphia Convention in 1787, complained to no avail "that in a Christian country, it would be at least decent to hold out some distinction between the professors of Christianity and downright infidelity or paganism." And a group of Massachusetts and New Hampshire Presbyterian ministers told George Washington that "we should not have been alone in rejoicing to have some *explicit* acknowledgement of THE TRUE ONLY GOD, AND JESUS CHRIST who he has sent, inserted somewhere in the Magna Carta of our country."

Foreshadowing the sentiments of cultural conservatives throughout American history, a North Carolina politician-clergyman predicted that the absence of a Christian oath for officeholders amounted to "an invitation for Jews and pagans of every kind to come among us. At some future period, this might endanger the character of the United States." And a speaker at the New Hampshire ratifying convention suggested that at least the president ought to be compelled to take a proper religious oath. Otherwise, "a Turk, a Jew, a Roman Catholic, and what is worse than all, a Universalist, may be President of the United States." With the election of such deists as Jefferson and Madison, his worst fears were borne out.

For their part, American Jews—barred from office in most states—immediately recognized and rejoiced in the Constitution as a liberating document. In Savannah, they thanked George Washington for helping to create a government that "enfranchised us with all the privileges and immunities of free citizens, and initiated us into the grand mass of legislative mechanism." The Jews of Newport, Rhode Island, wrote to Washington in a similar vein: "Deprived as we have hitherto been of the invaluable rights of free citizens, we now (with a deep sense of gratitude to the Almighty Disposer of all events), behold a Government...which to bigotry gives no sanction, to persecution no assistance—but generously affording to All liberty of conscience, and immunities of citizenship..."

Atheistical Constitution?

For the next half century, religious leaders of major Protestant denominations occasionally voiced complaints about the Constitution's failure to establish a Christian government. In 1811, for example, the Reverend Samuel Austin, later president of the University of Vermont, stated that the Constitution "is entirely disconnected from Christianity. It is not founded on the Christian religion." This "one capital defect," he warned, would lead "inevitably to its destruction."

The Indiana legislature resolved "that all legislative interference in matters of religion is contrary to the genius of Christianity."

As the Enlightenment waned and a resurgence of evangelicalism swept America, the attempt to restore Protestant Christianity to a position of political primacy became a major goal of those who, like Austin, found the Constitution wanting. By the time of the Civil War, from Protestant moderates as well as from fundamentalists, in hundreds of sermons and pamphlets, came a call to put Christ and Christian values into the Constitution.

The National Reform Association was formed in 1861 with that express purpose. Its membership included college presidents, governors, state and federal judges, public administrators, and important private citizens. "The fundamental proposition on which this whole movement is based," commented the editors of a New York City Methodist newspaper, "is the impossibility of State neutrality in religion and morals. Once grant this fundamental principle, and we see not how the object of this movement can be logically opposed or ignored." The petition of Cincinnati Presbyterians to Congress that a "Christian nation with an atheistical Constitution is an anomaly" was typical of most others.

The National Reform Association reached its peak during a time of enormous psychological stress, when moderate Protestants, without much thought regarding the political consequences and constitutional ramifications, supported the movement. The Civil War, so it seemed to thousands of religious Americans, was God's punishment, not only because of slavery, but because He was omitted from the Constitution.

"For more than forty years, a Fourth of July has seldom passed," wrote the Reverend George Junkin of Lafayette College, in 1863, "on which I have not preached and warned my countrymen of this defect, and told them if it be not supplied, God would pull down their temple and bury a nation in its ruin." The Reverend Henry A. Boardman of Philadelphia argued that "the loss of His favor will explain everything that has happened." Only by placing Christ in the Constitution could it be regained.

Not surprisingly, Jews regarded the National Reform Association as but one manifestation of a movement to Christianize the country officially. "Are We Equals in This Land?" queried a Jewish newspaper.

North and South, political leaders referred to the war as a Christian battle fought to preserve Christian principles. Many of the speeches, the songs, the prayers, the fast-day proclamations, and the military orders recognized the primacy of Christianity. Even President Abraham Lincoln issued an order in 1862 that referred to "the sacred rights of Christian soldiers and sailors" and "deference to the best sentiments of a Christian people."

Yet Lincoln neither endorsed nor condemned the National Reform Association. Nor did Congress, which tabled all the petitions supporting its goals. The organization continued to function, disbanding finally in 1945, but its membership declined rapidly once the Civil War ended. With peace, the danger receded, and Americans tended to agree with Horace Greeley's dictum: "The name of God on a plow beam would not make the plow run any better."

Baseball and Blue Laws

As hopes of a Christian amendment to the Constitution faded, efforts to Christianize America came to concentrate on establishing Sunday as a national "Lord's Day," on which many commercial and leisure activities would be outlawed. Such Sunday laws existed on the state level, varying greatly in their severity. Massachusetts's law, passed in 1792, was so

strict that Alexis de Tocqueville *commented* in 1831 on the "profound solitude" that reigned in Boston: "The whole movement of social life was suspended [on the Sabbath]. One can hear no sound of folk at work or at play, and not even that confused noise which constantly rises from any great city." By contrast, the Virginia Sunday law was mild: it forbade unnecessary labor or disturbances of religious services and provided for a fine of $1.67, which was rarely collected.

The national debate began in 1828, when a group of conservative merchants and old Federalists meeting in New York City formed a General Union for Promoting the Observance of the Christian Sabbath. At their instigation, church organizations and civic groups flooded Congress with petitions to stop Sunday mail delivery. But mail delivery wasn't the heart of the matter —the status of America as a Christian nation was.

"The people of these United States," read a memorial from Newark, New Jersey, "in their national capacity and character, constitute a Christian nation. If a Christian nation, then our Government is a Christian Government, a Government formed and established by Christians, and therefore bound by the word of God." From North Carolina came a similar message: "In a Christian community where all the chartered rights and political institutions, as well as the legislative provisions of the country, recognize the authority of the Christian religion, your memorialists deem it unnecessary to employ any reasoning to prove that Sabbath breaking is sinful."

There were strong arguments to the contrary. Senator Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky reminded Congress that the "Constitution regards the conscience of the Jew as sacred as that of the Christian." A resolution by the legislature of Indiana stated "that all legislative interference in matters of religion is contrary to the genius of Christianity; and that there are no doctrines or observances inculcated by the Christian religion which require the arm of civil power either to enforce or sustain them; that we consider every connection between church and state at all times dangerous to civil and religious liberty." The attempt to stop Sunday mail delivery failed.

That was in the 1820s. By the 1840s, evangelical Christians concentrated on cities, where growth had led to Sunday streetcar travel, amusements, business and other secular pursuits. The broad spectrum of Americans who had been initially opposed to these laws narrowed considerably before the Protestant assault. Mainline churches united in their favor, with Presbyterians in the lead, Methodists firmly at their side, Episcopalians nodding an aristocratic assent, and Lutherans lagging behind (because so many German members of that church believed it was their historic right to visit beer taverns on Sunday).

Opponents of the laws included abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, who organized an Anti-Sunday-Law Convention in 1848, which adopted a resolution "that if the Legislature may rightfully determine the *day* on which people shall abstain from labor for religious purposes, it may also determine the *place* in which they shall assemble, the *rites* and *ordinances* which they shall observe, the *doctrines* which they shall hear, the *teachers* which they shall have over them, and the peculiar *faith* which they shall embrace; and thus entirely subvert civil and religious freedom."

Although a national Lord's Day bill wasn't introduced in Congress until after the Civil War, judges seemed to be paving the way for such a law during the preceding decades by sustaining the constitutionality of state Sunday legislation. In the process, they often affirmed that the United States was indeed a Christian nation.

A supreme court judge in South Carolina, for a unanimous court, held in 1848 that "The Lord's day, the day of the Resurrection, is to us who are called Christians, the day of rest after finishing a new creation. It is the day of the first visible triumph over death, hell and the grave!...On that day we rest and to us it is the Sabbath of the Lord—its decent observance in a Christian community is that which ought to be expected." The same year, a supreme court judge in Pennsylvania declared: "We are a Christian people and state....I do not recognize the right of legislation to make a day of secular cessation from labor independent of the Christian Sabbath."

In a case involving Sunday baseball games, the Nebraska Supreme Court ruled in 1892 that "Christianity is woven into the web and woof of free government and but for it free government would not have existed, because no other system has been able to check the selfishness, arrogance, cruelty and covetousness of the race....As a Christian people, therefore, jealous of their liberty and desiring to preserve the same, the State has enacted certain statutes which, among other things, in effect, recognize the fourth commandment, and the Christian religion, and the binding force of the teachings of the Savior."

Even the U.S. Supreme Court, in an extensive obiter dictum in the 1892 case of *Holy Trinity Church* v. *United States*, felt compelled to add an unmistakable endorsement of the primacy of Christianity by categorically stating "that this is a Christian nation."

But Congress resisted all attempts to enact a national Lord's Day law. On more limited issues, however, lawmakers were certainly susceptible to the power of Christian forces acting in unison. Protestant groups pressured Congress to deny appropriations for the 1893 World's Columbia Exposition in Chicago unless it closed on Sunday. Congressmen admitted, as did Senator Joseph Hawley of Connecticut, that the bill was "founded on religious belief."

Congressman John Pattison of Ohio said, "We but voice the sentiment of the many millions of Christian people and also at least nine-tenths of the American people."

In response, Albert Hopkins of Illinois asked, "What would the gentleman do with those who have Saturday as their Sabbath?"

Pattison: "There are very few of those."

Hopkins: "But their conscientious scruples are as sacred to them as those who desire the doors to be closed on Sunday."

An unnamed congressman told a reporter for the Chicago *Daily Post*: "The reason we shall vote for it is, I will confess to

In a case involoving Sunday baseball, a Nebraska court upheld statutes that "recognize ... the binding force of the teachings of the Savior."

you, a fear that, unless we do so, the church folks will get together and knife us at the polls." The law passed easily.

The Present Danger

Today no representative of the Christian right is audacious enough to suggest that the Constitution be amended to recognize the divinity of Jesus Christ. But that in effect is their goal: the recognition of America as a Christian nation politically and judicially. Christian right leaders are, in the main, shrewd and sophisticated. They have even cast their net to include Jews by their unqualified support for the state of Israel and by their repeated invocation of the term "Judeo-Christian principles," or "Judeo-Christian traditions," or "Judeo-Christian ethics." Obviously it is politically expedient to employ euphemisms to attract Jews to the so-called moral majority. (No recognition is given, of course, to the growing number of Asian immigrants, for example, who share very different religious traditions but are nevertheless citizens.)

Occasionally, however, the face of anti-Semitism is revealed. The Reverend James Robison, for example, the television evangelist selected to open the 1984 Republican National Convention with a prayer of thanksgiving, has defined an anti-Semite as "someone who hates Jews more than he's supposed to." He also believes that "the non-Christian can't understand spiritual things."

Likewise, Catholics inclined to support the religious right should remember that the Reverend W. A. Criswell, a Baptist pastor and prominent spokesman for the Christian right chosen to close the Republican convention with a benediction, once called the Catholic church "a political tyranny" and predicted that John Kennedy's election would "spell the death of a free church in a free state."

Such remarks are reminiscent of 19th-century claims that morality was exclusively a Christian possession. "What constitutes the standard of good morals?" asked a South Carolina judge in the 1840s. "Is it not Christianity? There certainly is none other."

In the middle of the Civil War, Jewish leader Isaac Leeser alerted his readers that the "poison" of the National Reform Association "has become more diffused, more portentous, and indicative of a coming storm." It threatened not only Jews, he wrote, but unitarians, sabbatarians, atheists, deists, free thinkers, civil libertarians, the unclassified who were indifferent, and Catholics as well.

Jefferson's view of religious freedom, some of his contemporaries complained, exalted individual freedom at the expense of majority rights.

Especially Catholics, he noted, "would be as much injured as we, should the religious element be engrafted on the Constitution; for they would find it difficult to contend against a united Protestant body. We may therefore expect that should the question grow into larger dimensions, we should not be left alone to contend for human rights, but find support no less from our ancient oppressors than from persons indifferent to all religion, not from love of Israelites and those who would be excluded under the new state of things, but from a sense of common danger."

Just as the collective rhetoric of the Christian right reflects its 19th-century antecedents, so Leeser's response is applicable today. The struggle between two contending images of America has been a constant of our history. From the beginning, many Americans, unhappy with a Constitution that was undeniably secular, defined the United States as a Christian nation. They believed that the civil order and spiritual order are interrelated and interdependent; that if Christianity is the true faith, those who deny it are wrong and misguided; that non-Christians should be tolerated but that government, to be strong and virtuous and moral, must be allied with the religion of the majority. This is essentially the message of the Christian right today.

Opposed to it has been the definition associated most notably with Thomas Jefferson: that all religions have merit, but that religion is a private concern; that Christianity or Protestantism has no monopoly on truth; that government should neither favor nor discriminate and must be divorced from religion. Jefferson's view of religious freedom, some of his contemporaries complained, exalted individual freedom at the expense of majority rights. Indeed it did, and still does, since Jefferson opposed all tyrannies, of monarchs as well as of majorities. He considered his authorship of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom as memorable and significant as the Declaration of Independence.

But there have been many throughout American history, to this day, who have been unable to accept either Jefferson's ideas on religious freedom or his motives. The Virginia Statute, in fact, one rather typical critic contended, denigrated Christianity. It amounted to "an alliance between the civil authority and infidelity."

Secularism has been, a recent scholar concludes, "one of Jefferson's richest legacies to democracy." Those on the religious right today cannot conceive of republicanism functioning successfully without a Christian foundation. Like their 19th-century predecessors, they point to current national problems as proof and rely on psychological stress to attract support. They are as zealous as they are indefatigable, for they believe it is the Lord's work.

One must keep in mind that religious liberty did not come easily. It did not simply ripen and fall to non-Christians as a gift. It had to be fought for in legislative halls, in constitutional conventions, and in the courts. What has been achieved, easily can be lost if the near unity of the Christian right in rhetoric is ever matched by their unity in political action. ◻

Morton Borden is a professor of history at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and author of Jews, Turks, and Infidels *(University of North Carolina Press, 1984).*

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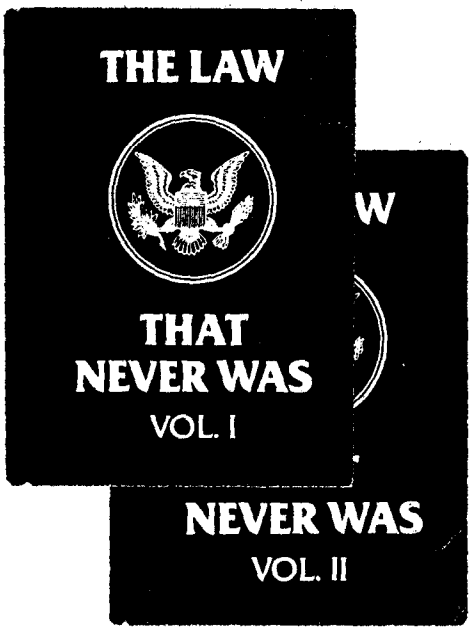

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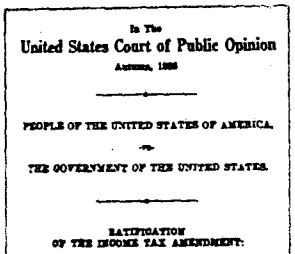
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By Warren Salomon

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I know you're out there... Do you sleep easily at night knowing you've "cheated" on your taxes? Or do you have nightmares, perhaps like this: You're at the airport, returning from a trip overseas, and you hand your passport to the creep at Customs. He taps a few keys on his computer, squints at the screen, then reaches beneath his stand-up desk for a phone. He mumbles into the mouthpiece, and a few moments later you hear a polite cough behind you.

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Could it happen to you?

It certainly could, depending on how much Uncle Sam knows. And you need to know what that might be. You can't learn everything, but you can sometimes learn a lot. There are three principal methods. They sometimes overlap, but space is limited, so I won't get into that.

First is the Privacy Act of 1974, which gives citizens and U.S. residents the right to inspect the records maintained on them by federal agencies (but not investigatory records). Then there's Section 6110 of the Internal Revenue Code. It can give you access to any "background file document" relating to certain "written determinations" made by the IRS. It works. Whenever they write to you, you can (if you think it's wise) write back demanding the background file documents relating to their letter.

Last is the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA)—the most sweeping and most "popular" of these laws, so that's what I'll be discussing here. The FOIA (Title 5 U.S. Code, Section 552) requires disclosure of various kinds of information by government agencies, upon request by any person.

Not everything has to be disclosed under the FOIA. But the feds have the burden of proof in showing that one of nine statutory

exemptions applies to any information they want to withhold.

What are the nine exemptions?

Generally, the feds don't have to disclose matters pertaining to: national security; internal agency rules and practices; information exempt by other statutes (this prevents you from getting your hands on my tax returns); trade secrets and confidential information; interagency and intraagency memoranda (words of devilishly ambiguous meaning); and material that would result in an invasion of privacy. Similar exemptions apply to Section 6110 disclosures by the IRS.

The exemptions have teeth. For example, when a taxpayer under criminal investigation sought disclosure of all information concerning himself and his corporation, the IRS refused to comply, saying it would hamper their investigation by disclosing confidential informants, the nature of their testimony, and the scope, direction, and strength of the investigation. The courts backed up the IRS.

Well then, what *can* you get? Lots of goodies: General Counsel's memoranda (interpreting IRS regulations); IRS procedure manuals; the Justice Department's *Manual for Criminal Tax Trials*; all kinds of statistics; and loads of information about your own tax situation—deficiency notices, revenue-agent and appellate reports, reports on refund claims, and maybe even revenue-agent referrals for potential fraud cases. Just use your imagination.

How do you make the FOIA work for you? You have to make a request "in accordance with published rules." The request has to be in writing and signed by the person making the request. It must describe the records sought as specifically as possible and state that the request is pursuant to the Act. You have to say whether you merely want to inspect the records or have copies made and furnished without prior inspection. You have to agree to pay all costs incurred in connection with the records search and duplication, or, alternatively, to specify the upper limit that you'll pay. You have to blunder around until you find the proper official (district director, service center director, etc.) to answer your request.

The IRS (or other agency) has to respond within 10 business days, notifying you whether the records can be located or telling you they need more time (another 10 days). If they blow the time limits and fail to respond, you can sue right away. Otherwise, you have 35 days after they turn you down to appeal their refusal to the commissioner of the IRS. The commissioner then has 20 business days to respond to your appeal. If he turns you down, then you can sue to require production of the records.

The court can assess attorneys' fees against the feds if you win, but don't count on a burst of generosity to pay your legal fees. You're unlikely to come out whole, even if you do win.

The court can also find that the feds acted arbitrarily and capriciously in withholding the records, which requires a civil service proceeding to determine whether the bureaucrats should be disciplined. Don't count on that happening either. It's nice to dream about, however.

Another benefit of using the FOIA is that you'll be tying up bureaucrats while they respond to your request, which diverts their attention from their regular business—harassing the population.

This kind of thing is undoubtedly safer, more rewarding, and lots more fun than hopelessly litigating tax-protestor issues.

Get the picture?

Warren Salomon is an attorney and tax specialist practicing in Miami.

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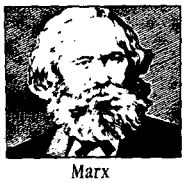
Jefferson

Thomas Paine

Adam Smith

John Stuart Mill

Machiavelli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spotlight

By John Dentinger

Demented Deejay

Barry Hansen always wanted to become a doctor. Not the kind who puts stitches in you but the kind who puts you in stitches.

Hansen, a reserved, bearded man in his mid-40s, is better known as the title character and host of "The Dr. Demento Show," a nationally syndicated radio program of "mad music and crazy comedy." Every week Hansen skims the crème de la crème from his private collection of over 200,000 records, dating "from 1897 to tomorrow."

On the air, he plays mostly novelty records, whose golden era was the early '60s—before rock started to take itself too seriously to air the likes of "Purple People Eater" and "They're Coming to Take Me Away, Ha-Ha!" The Dr. Demento Show keeps alive classic records by artists such as Spike Jones, Tom Lehrer, and Allan Sherman and highlights contemporary artists including Monty Python, Frank Zappa, and Cheech and Chong.

A registered Libertarian, as well as a first-class iconoclast, Hansen says the greatest influence on what he can and cannot play on the air is "the capitalists who run the radio stations. They don't want to offend their listeners. But it doesn't mean I'm going to be a prude. "

The show has proven a springboard for new talent. Hardly a day goes by when Hansen doesn't get at least one tape of some quality through the mail or even left in an empty flower pot in front of his home. Some are gems, he says, but "I get some tapes of grade school kids singing, 'I like to eat my boogers.' "

The Doctor's number one discovery to date is satirist "Weird Al" Yankovic, best known for such rock parodies as "Like a Surgeon" (of Madonna's "Like A Virgin") and "Eat It" (of Michael Jackson's "Beat It"). Yankovic started as a teenager, sending in tapes of himself singing and playing the accordion in an acoustic-tiled bathroom.

Barret Hansen was raised "among the lakes, trees, polka palaces, and art museums" of Minneapolis. At the age of four, he could operate the family phonograph, amazing the neighbors with his careful handling of the family's expensive and fragile classical records. The same year, his father brought home Spike Jones's "Cocktails for Two," sealing his young son's destiny.

Barry Hansen: *"Demented music will set you free."*

"I could have tinkled around on the piano, but when I put a record on, I could make the whole orchestra play," Hansen recalls. "With my first phonograph, I'd take the family's records, and talk like a disk jockey. When I got into high school, I appointed myself the deejay for the dances—the sock hops, as we called them then—and private parties, too." How did he do that? Simple: he had the biggest record collection.

"Maybe in a way it retarded my social development, because while other people were actually dancing and conversing, I was running the record player. I was pretty much a loner. I loved my records. I'd go home from school and stop at the Salvation Army store and buy old records for a nickel apiece. Or go to the place where they sold the jukebox records for 19 cents apiece.

"That's how I found out about black music originally. In Minneapolis in the '50s there was very little black music on the radio, but there were enough blacks to support taverns where they played rhythm and blues on the jukeboxes, and they'd wind up at the jukebox dealer's along with the rest of the records. One day I found a record by Muddy Waters, and I thought, that's a funny name, I think I'll take it home and see what it sounds like."

As an undergraduate at Reed College in Oregon, Hansen wrote a thesis on opera, but his master's thesis at UCLA was on the evolution of rock and roll. It got him a job writing notes for record jackets, and his career in the music business was born.

Hansen later contributed articles to the early *Rolling Stone* and Warner Brothers' *Circular* and *Wax Paper* magazines. He began as the original lone writer of what eventually became the multi-author *Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock and Roll.* "I got as far as 1967," he sighs, "by which time it was 1972."

Meanwhile, Hansen was hired in 1970 as the oldies expert for a Los Angeles radio station. "But I mixed in some novelty numbers right from the first show, and it was those that got the biggest response." One of the secretaries at the station said he "must be demented" to play that kind of music. And so Dr. Demento was born. After a few years of astute self-promotion, the program was widely syndicated, and Barry Hansen found to his pleasure that he had turned his demented dream into a a full-time living.

Unanchored crates full of alphabetized LPs are stacked to the ceiling of his office at home in the San Fernando Valley north of Los Angeles. "If there's an earthquake I'll just have to jump out of the way fast."

When he got married three and a half years ago, Hansen's wife, Sue, an editor, announced that if he expected her to cook, he would have to remove the hundreds of 45 rpm records from the kitchen—even though the shelves were the perfect size for them. The expanding record collection now takes up much of the rest of the house, as well as a 500-square-foot patio and what was once a two-car garage.

The Hansen/Demento dichotomy is no Jekyll/Hyde split. Even on the air, Hansen seems the introvert presenting his expertise successfully as entertainment, leaving Demento visible mainly in the reflection of the limelight he directs to his manic offerings. And if there's any connection between his career and his political philosophy, it's not an intellectual one, but one best summed up in his credo: "Demented music will set you free."

John Dentinger is a free-lance writer in Los Angeles.

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A few years back, I invested about $12,000 in a promising business venture; I even borrowed for this venture from my complete life savings. The venture and my life savings went down the drain, and I lost every penny I had. I didn't have money for rent, for my car payments, utility bills or even clothing. Most of my letters had something in common: "FINAL NOTICE" stamped on them in bold red. I came home one evening to watch the 6:00 news and found that the T.V. set was missing. I sat on the floor in dismay thinking we had been robbed. But then my wife walked in the front door with tears streaming down her face, and she trembled as she explained that it was sold so we could afford to have food on our table. Later, we were evicted and were fortunate that relatives let us stay with them. I could bear to feel the pains of debt alone, but how I hated to see my loved ones shiver with the fear of having no future. My suffering was killing me.

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life and liberty

Let It Rain, Rain, Rain

By Will Cornell

They're from Kansas City and their album sports a Thomas Hart Benton mural as cover art, but don't mistake the Rainmakers for just another Middle American rock band. For the Rainmakers tackle topical issues from a fresh perspective, far removed from the socialism of Billy Bragg or the populism of Bruce Springsteen.

The band's eponymous debut album on the Mercury label has been widely hailed by critics as one of the most distinctive records of the past year. Sales have cracked the Billboard Top 100, and air play has been generated on college, Top 40, and AOR (album-oriented rock) stations alike. *Newsweek, Billboard,* and *Rolling Stone,* among others, have featured the band.

Musically, the Rainmakers field a classic two-guitar, bass and drums line-up in the Seger/Springsteen/Mellancamp mold. Like those artists, you hear 30 years of American rock in their sound. They admit to an affinity for Creedence Clearwater Revival but also draw upon influences such as Chuck Berry, Little Richard, Bob Dylan, Mitch Ryder, and the Stax sound.

But the Rainmakers' message is what's unusual. They preach responsibility for one's actions and faults. Their individualist, Mark Twainish commonsense approach comes largely from Bob Walkenhorst, chief scribe, lead singer, and guitarist.

"I don't have any political affiliations," Walkenhorst says, "and I don't have any solutions. I just hope to get people thinking so someone will come along with a brighter idea."

The Rainmakers' most startling lyrical statement is "Government Cheese," a blistering attack on welfare:

> Give a man a free house and he'll bust out the windows
> Put his family on food stamps now he's a big spender
> No food on the table and the bills ain't paid
> Cause he spent it all on cigarettes and P.G.A.
>
> Give a man a free ticket on a dead end ride
> And he'll climb in the back even though nobody's driving
> Too Goddamn lazy to crawl out of the wreck
> And he'll rot while he waits for the welfare check
> Going to hell in a handbag, can't you see
> I ain't gonna eat no Government Cheese†

"That song came about when I went into my local grocery and five people ahead of me in the checkout line were using food stamps," says Walkenhorst. "Who's being helped here? The government is killing the motivation and dignity of these people."

"Government Cheese" isn't the first rock song to deal with the plight of the poor. But it may well be the first to point a finger at the debilitating effects of the welfare state on the character of its supposed beneficiaries.

Press reports have it that "Government Cheese" was harshly booed at a New York club some months back. Walkenhorst says it "only created a small commotion—the incident was overblown."

The song *did* receive a standing ovation in Wisconsin, of all places. "We did an outdoor, family-type gig up there, and someone came up and requested it," recalls Walkenhorst. "I said, 'Well, we might offend these folks who make a living off that cheese,' but they said, 'Oh no, please do it.' " Did the crowd get the message, or did they just want a song about cheese? Walkenhorst says they "definitely got the message."

"Drinkin' on the Job," like most of Walkenhorst's songs, "points a finger, but looks in the mirror as well." It's an angry ballad about blown opportunities and disappointment owing to worker drunkenness:

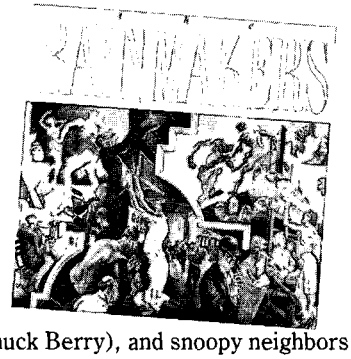
> There's a whole lotta things I'll never be
> The generation that would change the world
> Is still looking for its car keys...†

"Rocking at the T-Dance" calls to task the faulty workmanship that resulted in the 1967 NASA accident that killed astro-

nauts Grissom, White, and Chaffee, plus the near-accident of Apollo 13 and the collapse of the Kansas City Hyatt.

Of the labor situation, Walkenhorst says, "I have no faith in movements like unions. Why can't we leave things up to individuals? I'm in a union that *has* given me a lot of benefits, but I resent being blackmailed in order to join a union. I'd rather have a choice."

Other songs on the album concern lost love, suicide, spiritual ties to other Missourians (Harry Truman, Mark Twain,



Chuck Berry), and snoopy neighbors. The band's hit single, "Let My People Go-Go," is an exuberant exaltation that imagines God instructing us:

I did not put you here to suffer
I did not put you here to whine
I put you here to love one another
And to get out and have a good time.†

So the Rainmakers aren't strictly a manifesto set to music. "Trying to make rock and roll more than it is doesn't work," Walkenhorst explains. "We want everyone to have fun at our shows....If they want to study the lyrics, we hope they buy the album and listen at home."

Can we look for more of the same from this band and this songwriter? Maybe. "A first album has to be strong in order to get attention," says Walkenhorst. He thinks the next may be a little more understanding, less angry.

One can simply hope that the attitude expressed by the Rainmakers—and it is a departure from rock's status quo—will influence new bands in a world gradually abandoning that status quo.

Will Cornell is a buyer for a major record company in Dallas.

† "Government Cheese," "Drinkin' on the Job," and "Let My People Go-Go" by Bob Walkenhorst
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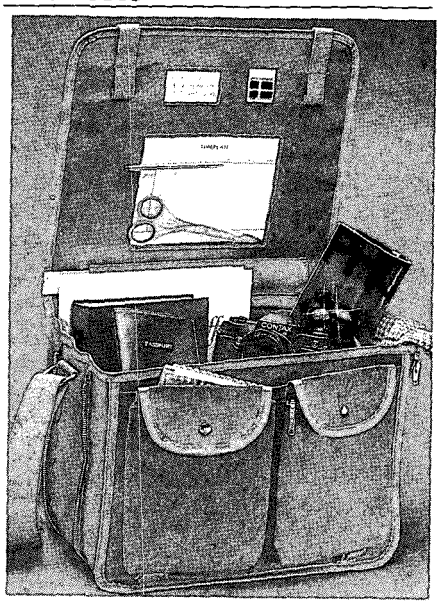

This oversize bag is an overwhelming success with photographers, artsists, students, musicians, dancers, opera singers, nuns, poets, duck hunters, cyclists, plumbers, teachers, reporters and travelers...because it's a versatile labyrinth of roomy pockets. Made of water resistant canvas-like fabric that wears like iron, the bookbag has an unusual zipper design that enables the bag to expand to double its normal width—to a full 8 inches. It also has two outer pockets in front and a large back pocket. An adjustable 2″ wide strap makes the burden easier. Grey only #A1707. **$29.00** ($4.95).

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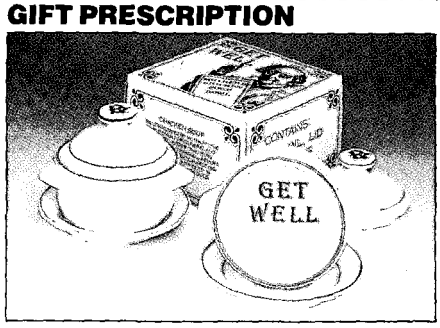

Stash this wonderful soup bowl away and you won't go crazy when you need a get-well gift for someone special. The recipient, who will undoubtedly have *enough* flowers already, will love this practical, cheerful remembrance. The ceramic lug soup bowl (12 oz.) has its own 6¼″ plate and lid, in charming gift box complete with mother's chicken soup recipe. **$12.00** ($2.95) #A1732X.

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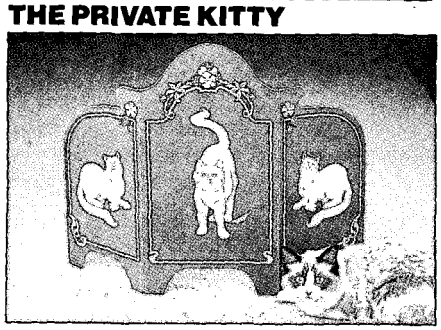

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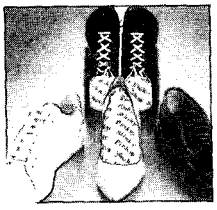
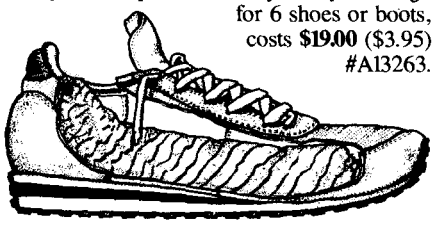


Fortunately, human anatomy is arranged so the nose and the feet are separated by the greatest possible distance. Even so, the twain do occasionally meet — and the nose is usually not delighted to know of the foot's exertions. Now just put a Stinky Pinky "sock" in each shoe and overnight odor is gone, absorbed by the special blend of all-natural earth materials. Works in running shoes, sneakers, boots, leather shoes, anything that goes on your feet. And keeps on working, too—just put Stinky Pinkys out in the sun for a day every three months or so to restore their odor-catching ability. Three pairs of Stinky Pinkys, enough for 6 shoes or boots, costs **$19.00** ($3.95) #A13263.



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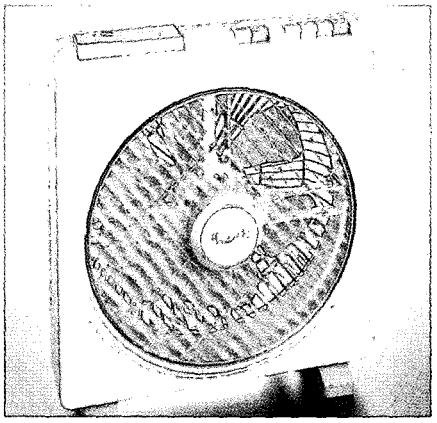

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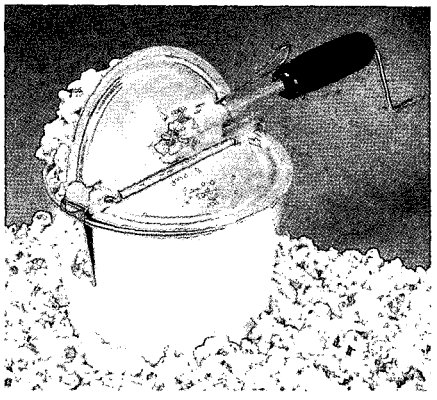

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They Just Won't Let You Be

By Bill Kauffman

Rebel Rock: The Politics of Popular Music, by John Street
New York: Blackwell, 247 pages, $8.95

A recent issue of a small punk magazine, *Maximum Rock and Roll,* carried this dispatch from Czechoslovakia: "There are a lot of problems with the VB (General Security Police), who systematically control the punks, prohibiting concerts, and acting brutal (knocking them down, tearing off earrings, shaving hair). Punks are driven to the police station, beaten, photographed, card-indexed, and sometimes even sent to psychiatric hospitals. Czech punks are very pessimistic, and have nothing to hope for."

Meanwhile, back in the free world, Los Angeles cops clad in riot gear conduct weekly raids on city rock clubs, shutting down music venues for violations of liquor, dance, fire, and building ordinances, all the legal minutiae of neighborly Big Brotherism. The L.A. jackboots crawl from the same noxious pond that spawned the record-burners of the '50s, the FBI tormentors of John Lennon in the '60s, and the well-connected nags of the Reagan-era Parents Music Resource Center.

What is it about rock and roll that so agitates state authorities? Why is it feared and sometimes suppressed by governments that cheerfully subsidize classical, folk, and traditional music? Rock, after all, is simply a hybrid of white country and black rhythm and blues; most lyrics are variations on boy-meets-girl, boy-loses-girl, boy-wonders-why-he-never-meets-girl themes. The music, qua music, is not politically prescriptive. What's the fuss?

Enter John Street, a British intellectual, government professor, and socialist follower of the Labour Party. Strike one, strike two, strike three. Yet he has written an engagingly iconoclastic meditation on the politics of rock music, particularly punk, that is both free of ideological cant and contemptuous of the Marxist (and conservative?) view of popular music as a post-religious opiate for the masses.

***The Clash** of music and politics*

Rock politics, Street notes, may seem oxymoronic to readers accustomed to hearing Phil Collins provide background music for pouty models drinking Michelob in front of wind machines. There are a few explicitly political rock musicians, notably the members of Red Wedge, the British association created by guitar hero Billy Bragg to bring the Labour Party's message to kids.

And a number of regional American bands—Los Lobos, The Blasters, Rainmakers, Long Ryders—are interpreting the American experience through a populist, working-class prism, reformulating the American visions of John Steinbeck, Woody Guthrie, and William Jennings Bryan. Not your standard mawkish love songs—but a clear and present danger to the ruling class?

No, rock's threat to the powers that be, avers Street, is that it has succeeded in conflating *personal* and *political* rebellion. A subject as innocent as young love may be subversive in the extreme if treated in an unconventional idiom. Elvis Presley, the towering figure in rock history, hadn't a political bone in his body, yet the implicit biracialism of his "nigger music" got him scorned and censored.

Street offers a charming contemporary example from Poland of how the personal shades into the political, courtesy the U.K.'s *New Musical Express*: "[The Polish band Republika's] live favourite used to be 'I Want to Be Myself,' because a slight phonetic change converted the chorus into 'I want to beat a *zomo*'—slang for cop. The group would sing the original and the audience the modification. And though the authorities could hardly condone massed ranks chanting 'I want to beat a *zomo,*' it would be equally ludicrous for them to ban a group asserting 'I want to be myself.' "

The stuff of rock lyrics changed little in its first decade—teen angst, boy-girl problems, fast cars. Even the British Invasion bands of 1964-65, which revivified the sleepy, vanilla American scene, wanted, first and last, a bit of sex. Not until the Vietnam war, and the attendant efflorescence of the counterculture, did rock lyrics bother with politics.

Flower power was the "archetypal anti-authoritarian, libertarian pop movement," writes Street with refreshing candor. Curiously, the antiwar rage on America's streets was transmuted into vague exhortations to universal love ("Come on people now/ Smile on your brother/Everybody get together/Try to love one another right now"). Bands like the Grateful Dead and Jefferson Airplane preached—and lived—hippie anarchism, the blissful, slightly zonked embodiments of the Do Your Own Thing ethos. Flower power was in many ways a quietist response to state oppression, expressed in the Dead's weary lament, "They just won't let you be."

Coincident with war's end and the dissolution of the counterculture, rock became listless and dull, trifurcated into the solipsistic whining of James Taylorish folk, the

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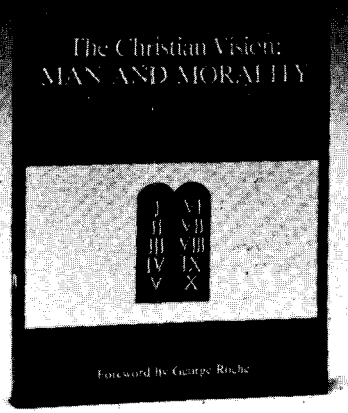

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macho posturing of heavy-metal bands, and the bloodless technological bombast of self-styled progressive rockers like Yes and Emerson, Lake, and Palmer. Interesting figures were oases (Bruce Springsteen, Lou Reed) or cult idols (Alex Chilton, John Cale) unknown beyond urban bohemia.

Then came punk. Alternately an expression of antinomian anarchism (I make my own rules), nihilism born of a lack of opportunity for advancement (There is no future), and radical democracy (Anyone can play music—there are no stars), punk gave a bloated, lethargic rock world the swift kick in the ass it desperately needed. Punks rejected elaborate instrumentation in favor of three-chord savagery and preferred blunt, defiant lyrics over the regnant whimpering and florid metaphor.

In his lengthy discussion of punk, Street makes an oft-unappreciated point: the politics of punk shared the same liberal individualist roots as earlier rock. The first British punks of the mid- to late '70s coupled chaotic musical disarrangements with banshee-howls lacerating the cops, the welfare state (particularly the toniest welfare mothers in the world, the Royal Family), and the grey oppressiveness of life under the reigning, pre-Thatcher Labour government. Sex Pistols singer Johnny Rotten (né Lydon), punk's first celebrity, offered his calling card in a guttural wail, "I...wanna be...Anarchy!"

Stateside, early punk politics were closer to the individualist strain in conservatism than to the New Deal. There were anti-state songs (Patti Smith's "Citizenship"), anticommunist songs (the Germs's "Communist Eyes"), even antitax songs (Circle Jerks's "Red Tape"). The zeitgeist was encapsulated in the punk mini-creed "'Do It Yourself," an Emersonian declaration of self-sufficiency and independence. The Ramones, the founding fathers of American punk, even endorsed Ronald Reagan in 1980.

But punks read newspapers and watch the news, too, and as conservatives discovered the joys of Big Government, American punk and avant-garde turned solidly anti-Reagan. (The Ramones recently recanted with "Bonzo Goes to Bitburg.") Yet the lyrical individualism persists. Rock generally, and the vestiges of a spent punk movement in particular, remain redoubts of healthy anti-authority sentiment. Two exhibits from a well-stocked pool:

The Dead Kennedys song "Holiday in

Cambodia" invites a liberal college student on a Khmer Rouge vacation:

You'll work harder with a gun in your back
For a bowl of rice a day
Slave for soldiers till you starve
Then your head is skewered on a stake
Now you can go where people are One
Now you can go where they get things done
It's a holiday in Cambodia
Where you'll do what you're told

Committed, eh? And England's The Clash, usually advertised as the most important leftist band in rock's brief history, requests:

If you see an Afghan rebel
That the Moscow bullets missed
Ask him what he thinks
Of voting Communist
Ask the Dalai Lama
In the hills of Tibet
How many monks
Did the Chinese get?

I offer even these two samples with misgivings. Politicizing every aspect of our lives, including music, is an enervating, discouraging practice. Street's expansive definition of politics—"how we should act and think"—mars his book (and socialist thought, for that matter). Rock is political because the state defines itself in opposition to boundless self-expression; piling ideological baggage onto the music can be cumbersome and dulling.

At its best, rock affirms the dignity of individual experience and the value of personal freedom. A superb Polish hard-core punk band, Dezerter, has sung (in rough translation): "There won't be necessary repressions and power/To do us in by beating with sticks/Because inside many of us there is a militiaman." That rock and roll invites the militiaman to dance is its most subversive, and salutary, political act.

Assistant Editor Bill Kauffman was a member of the late '70s punk band The Mannicans, which had neat posters and not much else.

The Taste for Freedom

By Rick Vernier

Liberty in America: Liberty and Power, 1600-1760
By Oscar and Lillian Handlin, New York: Harper & Row, 280 pages, $16.95

"Abstract liberty," said 18th-century British philosopher Edmund Burke, "like other mere abstractions, is not to be found." Liberty in America, Oscar and Lillian Handlin argue in *Liberty and Power, 1600-1760,* is not a matter of abstractions but the product of a distinctive historical process. American freedoms and our conception of individual rights are a historical novelty that we "stumbled into"; our taste for freedom is a historical accident.

The story the Handlins tell has long been a mainstay of American historians. There is little here that will be really new, either in argument or analysis, to those familiar with American history.

The story turns on the peculiar circumstances made possible by the openness and space of the New World confounding the forms and restrictions of the Old World. Freedom in its Old World context, say the Handlins, was freedom from others' raw exercise of power. As such, it depended on power and privilege to secure that freedom. Since power was so dependent upon strength of numbers, the individual's membership in some social group was the only means of securing a realm of freedom. Thus, the Old World order was one of status, position, hierarchy, and rules.

Seventeenth-century efforts to recreate that world in America were continually frustrated by the corrosive effects of a wide-open land. Settlers could be tempted to "turn wild," to move away from the community and its discipline, or to set up new communities more in accord with their peculiar notions of "the common good."

The efforts of would-be feudal barons to duplicate the vast estates and wealth that had been carved out of other colonial possessions like Ireland, and the dreams of English soldiers of fortune to duplicate the looting of the *conquistadors*, were defeated by North America's lack of population and treasure. The absence of easily extractable sources of wealth meant that America would be spared the development

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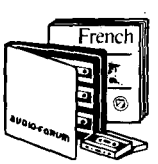

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of a ruthless ruling class of the type that arose in South and Central America. (An exception in Central America is the misnamed Costa Rica, which never had much worth stealing and has been able to develop a generally liberal democracy.)

A colonial charter might grant someone absolute power over his dominion, but the need to attract and hold labor restrained the exercise of that power. The extent of the territory under such absolute authority was often too great to police, and the governors lacked the resources to enforce the obedience of scattered settlers.

Most importantly, say the Handlins, in colonies as disparate as the Catholic barony of Lord Baltimore's Maryland, the commercial colony of the Virginia joint-stock company, and the Puritan Plymouth colony, the governors were all forced by circumstances to depend on the consent of those they ruled. Violent protest and resistance, from Bacon's Rebellion (1676) in Virginia to Leisler's Rebellion (1689) in New York, broke out when colonists believed that the exercise of power was inconsistent with their ends. In return for peace and stability, the politics of consent came to be the norm in the colonies. The colonists, in turn, increasingly insisted on written laws as a means of protecting themselves against arbitrary authority.

By the 18th century, many colonists saw their colonial representative assemblies as colonial parliaments and the requirement of their consent as a matter of right. The Zenger libel case (1735), in which a jury upheld Zenger's right to publish anti-government commentary in his newspaper as a fundamental freedom, demonstrated that Americans had transformed slowly accumulated rights into a duty to resist encroachments of lawless power. Rights that had been won over two centuries were now seen as aspects of the human character, natural rights of birth, rather than the accretions of time and circumstance.

American individualism, too, has a past, urge the Handlins. If the openness of the New World was a solvent to older patterns of authority, it was similarly destructive of the notion of a corporate society in which all are knit into one body politic, with a common goal, a common faith, and a common good: that age-old model of society as family writ large. Efforts to punish those who dressed above their station or who worked Sundays were too weak to be effective, owing to the high

costs of enforcing the laws. Relations of power and authority within the family were unsettled in the New World: the scarcity of women increased their status and power; scarce labor meant that old rules regarding apprentices and servants began to dissolve and be replaced by ad hoc contracts.

Religious conformity was constantly confounded by the lack of a bishop and the Anglicans' ecclesiastical machinery; the dispersed population on the frontier was prey to itinerant preachers of Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian persuasions, who spread sectarian division and subverted notions of an established church; Puritan divines like Roger Williams turned piety against establishment of religion by declaring that "forced worship stinks in God's nostrils." By the 18th century, a developing pattern of religious toleration and diversity could paradoxically lead authorities to suppress attacks on dissenters as a disturbance of the peace and harmony of all.

But it was the chief draw of the New World—the opportunity for wealth—that was most subversive of corporate society. The first plantations starved until they abandoned their common-labor systems and instituted private plots; common fields and pastures were slowly transformed into private property as the population increased in the 17th century. Efforts to regulate trade and prices for "the common good" were subverted by individuals interested in their own good. Ever-increasing numbers of colonists explicitly embraced the ideas of freedom of trade and access to economic opportunity.

For the poor indentured servant, America was the "best poor man's country in the world," where a small plot of ground or paying trade was not an impossible dream. For the successful merchant, there was the chance to purchase a large, landed estate and status not available to one in England sordidly engaged in trade. For both, freedom meant the opportunity to pursue individual success and improvement.

While the Handlins put forward a wealth of anecdotal material in support of their thesis, much of it is obscure. And readers of this book who expected the graceful, fluid prose of Oscar Handlin's *The Uprooted* will be disappointed by a too-often disjointed presentation and the book's sometimes leaden academic style.

But a more serious criticism is that the authors exaggerate the novelty of American notions of freedom and overhistoricize the ideal of liberty. The absence of any discussion of the meaning or value of liberty until the end of the book (and here, too, it is overly particularized) underlines their lack of a broader context. Europeans also had a past of mobility and frontiers; authority was never so secure there as the Handlins would have it; the notion of rights that Americans embraced in the 18th century was in fact articulated by English revolutionaries in the mid-17th century. Liberty is not, of course, a matter of pure abstractions, but neither is a taste for freedom something that requires American birth.

Rick Vernier is a graduate student of American history at the University of California, Los Angeles.

Family Power and the Individualist Dilemma

By Joan Kennedy Taylor

The American Family and the State, edited by Joseph R. Peden and Fred R. Glahe San Francisco: Pacific Research Institute, 453 pages, $34.95/$14.95

Between the individual and naked state power stand various groups and associations—religions, corporations, unions, families, for example—all of which are formed by individuals but many of which have acquired state power. And many groups have been assailed by champions of the individual because the power they wield seems *like* state power: the religious group whose members isolate a disobedient member, the corporation in a company town whose workers can find no other employer, and the strict parent who makes teenage children miserable with archaic curfews. Should these groups be cherished for their individualist roots—or attacked for the group power with which they may subdue the individual subject to their influence?

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question is that we need associations by our nature. Moreover, a multiplicity of associations between ourselves and the state serves to protect our liberty. At the same time, mindful of the individual, we should question association ties to state power. Labor unions can serve informational, fraternal, and bargaining purposes, but the state should neither limit their organization nor put its power behind their demands. Charitable associations serve a mulititude of laudable and necessary purposes, but the state should not be the source or the arbiter of charitable donations. Corporations can pay outrageous salaries to their executives and take financial risks, but no state funds should save them if these policies cause them to fail in the marketplace.

But what about the family? In some civilizations, families still have quasi-state power over their members, particularly female members. A controversial public-TV "docudrama" of several years ago, *Death of a Princess*, dramatized the fact that some Moslem fathers have the power to take the lives of disobedient daughters.

Family power has never gone to this extreme in the United States, although advocates of children's rights have for several generations now assailed the moral, social, and physical power that families have over their young members. Anglo-Saxon common law gave men control over the actions, liberty, and property of their wives and children. Laws securing the rights of wives, establishing mandatory education, and forbidding child labor have changed this situation drastically, with sometimes ambiguous results. Changing state policy toward the family can change and even discourage marriage and can change the relation of parents and children.

Many social observers believe that it is because of policy changes that family power in the United States has recently been on the wane. It is certainly true that the American family is becoming fragmented. Divorce rates increased 115 percent between 1965 and 1979 and are still increasing; young people are having babies without marriage; single women in their 30s who devoted themselves to a career are now being told that demographics dictate that they may never be married at all.

This disintegration has led many individualists to realize that, in criticizing the power of the family, they never wanted the institution to be altogether destroyed. This realization has led them to reexamine the ways in which the family actually pro-

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tects and enhances the individual.

In light of this realization, what should family policy be? *The American Family and the State* addresses that basic question. As its title suggests, the book discusses—in 14 articles by 17 libertarian, conservative, and neoconservative authors—the interrelationship of government policy and the family. It explores philosophical, economic, and societal views of the family; the historical rise of public schooling; changing legal theories; the impact of economic and social policy on family life; and private-sector alternatives to federal programs.

This is a scholarly book; many of the authors are economists or economic histo-

rians, and they are predictably cautious in their extrapolations. In the introduction, the editors are careful to say that no "coherent theoretical framework" has been agreed on by the contributors. But they suggest that the collection hints "at the locus of a possible solution....What we may be looking for in this volume is a social theory that will treat the family as a kind of spontaneous order in which individuals and groups make rational decisions based on their own estimation of their self-interest, decisions which in the larger arena of society work to the welfare of the whole."

What sort of political structure could allow such a spontaneous order to develop? One possibility, explored by several of the contributors to this book, lies in reconsidering the role that contracts play with respect to the family.

In his chapter "Marriage, Divorce, and Property Rights: A Natural Rights Framework," Roger A. Arnold discusses the present restricted status in American law of

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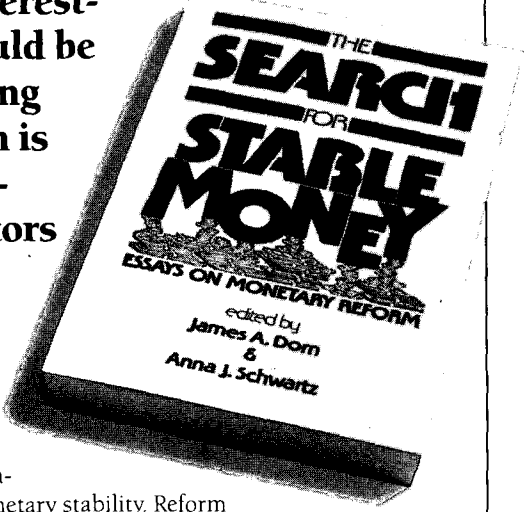

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the marriage contract and of prenuptial agreements. Arnold suggests that a natural-rights framework, if adopted by the courts, would allow unlimited freedom of contract between individuals contemplating marriage.

In another chapter, "Freedom of Contract and the Family: A Skeptical Appraisal," Paul Horton and Lawrence Alexander question several assumptions, particularly the common equation of contracts with legal enforceability, in order to suggest a wider conception of contract as the basis of family relations. After all, they point out, other give-and-take relationships, such as partnerships and employer-employee relations, are contractual, but the parties rarely bring them into court. They suggest that more attention should be paid to the moral, philosophical, and psychological characteristics of contract.

"Contract," they write, "is one important method of exchange between individuals. The employment of contract methodology for exchange permits a measure of planning, negotiation, and structuring to the participants that enhances their individuality, recognizes their dignity within the transaction, and increases the likelihood of fairness and clarity in the exchange. No reasons come immediately to mind that would invalidate these advantages of Contract so far as family relationships are concerned."

All groups have power, by virtue of the fact that they magnify the power of the individual; that's why we are able to accomplish things through group action that we could not do alone. Individuals need to be protected by criminal law (such as the laws against theft, fraud, assault and battery, and peonage) from having group power improperly used against them. But there is more that a legal system can do to enhance the positive formation of group relationships—it can encourage the formation of contracts and their enforcement by the courts.

Contracts are exchanges—they embody the ideas of fairness and bettering oneself through exchange. Such ideas are the moral basis of family relationships and could indeed encourage the spontaneous order of the family to thrive. *The American Family and the State* offers thought-provoking reading to anyone concerned about the plight of the family in America today.

Joan Kennedy Taylor is a free-lance writer and a commentator on the syndicated radio program Byline.

book hints *a selective mention of books received for review*

THE INIMITABLE FLETCH, whose exploits were recounted in REASON's 1982 book issue (Dec.), returns again in *Fletch, Too* (N.Y.: Warner Books, 256 pp., $15.95). This is author Gregory McDonald's last volume on Fletch, crowning his sparkling series with a finale that takes his anti-authoritarian hero, reporter-detective Irwin Maurice Fletcher, to the ancient secrets and present dangers of Kenya.

There are two ways to look at politics—with humor and with despair. H. L. Mencken was surely a master at rendering humorous a world of politics over which one might otherwise only despair. A second edition of William Manchester's acclaimed biography of this enigmatic reporter is now available. *Disturber of the Peace: The Life of H. L. Mencken* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 348 pp., $25/$8.95) brings to life the stormy Mencken legend, sprinkling the narrative with Menckenisms on everything from the Anti-Saloon League to the Justice Department.

The same government that fueled Mencken's wit is the focus of more somber analysis by Dwight Lee and Richard McKenzie in *Regulating Government* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 192 pp., $22.95). The authors examine current government activities, contrast them with the limitations set forth in the Constitution, show how free competition fosters justice and fairness, and distinguish rules that constrain liberty from those that promote it.

Ellen Paul, in *Property Rights and Eminent Domain* (Transaction Books, 276 pp., $26.95), also takes a look at the Constitution, narrowing her sights to the "takings clause" of the Fifth Amendment and showing how federal, state, and local governments have run roughshod over the intent of the clause, trampling individuals' property rights in the process.

Ideology and American Experience (Washington, D.C.: Washington Institute Press, 256 pp., $21.95/$14.95), edited by John K. Roth and Robert Whittemore, is a collection of essays that define and evaluate the origins, nature, and contemporary significance of the system of ideals underlying American political life. Included are contributions by Reason Foundation Senior Fellow Tibor Machan and REASON authors Douglas Rasmussen and Douglas Den Uyl.

The failure of the welfare state to fulfill its promise of prosperity and justice has generated a renewed interest in classical liberal ideas—individual liberty, markets, and limited government. *Liberty, Market and State: Political Economy in the 1980s* (New York: New York University Press, 278 pp., $45) assembles a set of recent essays by Nobel laureate James Buchanan in which he explores the notions of order, liberty, justice, efficiency, and progress.

In *Liberalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 106 pp., $25/$9.95), British scholar John Gray provides an account of classical liberalism—its nature, origins, and prospects in the modern world. Examining important strands in free-market thinking is *The Unfinished Agenda* (London: Institute of Economic Affairs, distr. in the U.S. by Transatlantic Arts, Albuquerque, N.M., 152 pp., $15.95 paper). Edited by IEA's Martin J. Anderson, it includes contributions by eminent free-market scholars such as Nobel laureates F. A. Hayek, Milton Friedman, and James Buchanan.

Economist Edwin S. Mills turns his attention to the role of governments in contemporary (primarily U.S.) society. In *The Burden of Government* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 188 pp., $23.95), Mill uses economic theory to calculate the costs of government activities, concluding that most impair efficiency and equity.

Individualism's role in Western thought is the subject of two recent works: *Reconstructing Individualism,* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 365 pp., $39.50) edited by Thomas Heller, Morton Sosna, and David E. Wellbery, assembles essays on individualist ideology and the social, economic, and political institutions with which it is associated; *Essays on Individualism,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 284 pp., $27.50), by Louis Dumont, presents related discussions of the genesis and growth of individualism as the dominant force in Western philosophy and how this system of thought differs from those of other cultures.

—L. S.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

By James Taranto

Teaching Intolerance

A university is a haven for free inquiry where ideas—including unpopular or controversial ones—can be discussed freely and peacefully, where the pursuit of knowledge is the highest value. That's what I expected, anyway, when I enrolled as a journalism student at California State University, Northridge. I am sad to report that the pursuit of knowledge often takes a back seat to the political agenda of school officials. At CSUN and many other colleges, the marketplace of ideas is heavily regulated in order to promote "sensitivity" to minority groups.

I wrote an opinion column for the *Daily Sundial*—the school newspaper of which I am news editor—telling the story of Ron Bell, editor-in-chief of the UCLA *Daily Bruin*. Bell had been threatened by a group of eight students angry over a cartoon he printed. The cartoon, one of a regular (and previously apolitical) comic strip, depicted a rooster explaining to another student that he had been admitted to UCLA because of affirmative action.

The board that oversees UCLA's student publications suspended Bell as editor-in-chief for one week for printing a "racially insensitive" cartoon and violating a rule prohibiting "articles that perpetuate derogatory ethnic stereotypes." The suspension was rescinded when Bell agreed to run an apology and to send his reporters to cultural awareness workshops.

Among those who had pressed for action against Bell was Lisa Smith, who edits *Nommo*, UCLA's black student magazine—the editorial staff of which was represented in the gang that stormed Bell's office. In a *Nommo* editorial, Smith made it clear that her objection to the cartoon was the political view it expressed: "At a time when affirmative action is under attack across the country the cartoon...further undermines the efforts to preserve a much needed program."

Along with my editorial, I reprinted both the cartoon and excerpts from a viciously racist *Nommo* article. Sample: "Their [whites'] abstract theories and philosophy concerning government and economics has [*sic*] an underlying tone of selfishness, possessiveness, and greediness because their

BRUCE FINEBAUM/UCLA Daily Bruin

character is made up of these things. They cannot see the merit in collectivism and socialism because they do not possess the qualities of rational thought, generosity and magnanimity necessary to be part of a social order or system."

Nommo is supervised by the same board that oversees the *Bruin* and is presumably subject to the same rule against stereotypes. But no action has been taken against it, because nobody has complained. I concluded that promoting "sensitivity" is less a matter of setting objective standards than of pandering to the hysterics of a small, highly politicized group of minority students.

Noting that such incidents are not confined to UCLA, I wrote, "The battle between 'sensitivity' and free expression is being waged on college campuses throughout the country. Little did I know I was to become its next casualty.

The *Sundial*, you see, has a little-known (but, I am told, long-standing) policy requiring "questionable" material to be submitted to the faculty publisher for prior review. The publisher, journalism professor Cynthia Rawitch, declared the cartoon "questionable" and suspended me from the paper for two weeks for not consulting her before reprinting it. The *Sundial* has printed plenty of questionable material in the four years Rawitch has been publisher, and she hasn't always had the opportunity to censor it before publication. But no editor has ever been suspended for violating this rule. Why was I so severely punished?

Probably because my article touched an ideological nerve, by rejecting the notion that sensitivity to minorities should take precedence over freedom of expression, that minority members, as compensation for past injustices, should be given veto power over the expression of ideas with which they disagree. In critiquing my article, Rawitch argued that the cartoon, although it didn't mention any specific ethnic or cultural group, was a violation of the UCLA rule because affirmative action applies only to minorities and women. The *Nommo* article didn't violate the rule, she said, because whites—referred to in that article as Europeans—are not an ethnic or cultural group.

Obviously such an ideology cannot stand up under rational scrutiny. Its adherents know this, and they do whatever possible to evade such scrutiny, starting with the old argument ad hominem. They label their critics "racist," "sexist," "homophobic," or "insensitive," indiscriminately using such words as terms of vilification.

If character assassination fails, the next step is censorship. It takes various forms and is always justified in terms of some reasonable-sounding rule. (Perhaps the most outrageous example is at Yale, where students who publicly disapprove of homosexuality risk being disciplined on "sexual harassment" charges). But the real purpose is to stamp out thought that deviates from the ideology of sensitivity.

This sort of action on the part of university officials is a disservice to all students, for it teaches them that intimidation is more powerful than reason and that ideas approved by those in authority should be imposed by force, rather than considered on their own merits. Universities that reject the democratic ideas of free thought and expression cannot help but become breeding grounds for totalitarianism.

James Taranto is a college student and free-lance writer.

Proof Silver Bargain!

During the past year coin collectors and investors have begun to discover and appreciate silver coins in Choice Proof condition. Franklin Halves in Proof condition have moved up 39.2%; the wholesale value of recent proof coins has increased an average of 51.9%.

It is not surprising that silver coins in Choice Proof condition have become so popular: silver is a beautiful metal, and proof coins represent the pinnacle of the mintmaster's art.

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3—Mintage: Washington Quarters in Choice Proof condition are frequently classified as "common coins," probably because so many were manufactured for circulation. In fact, nearly 4 billion silver Washington Quarters were struck. But less than 1% were struck in proof condition.

4—Underpriced: Franklin Halves in Choice Proof condition currently command a price of about $30. Franklins Halves contain exactly twice as much silver as Washington Quarters. The mintages are comparable. Yet Franklin Halves in Choice Proof condition sell for approximately 5 times the price as Washignton Quarters in the same condition. (See the chart below.)

5—Overlooked by Collectors: Mesmerized by the huge mintage figures of circulation strike Washington Quarters, many collectors have assumed that it will always be available in Choice Proof condition. Just as collectors learned over the past year that the Franklin Half was scarcer than anyone imagined, collectors today are discovering the rarity and beauty of the Washington Quarter in Choice Proof condition.

6—Meltage: During 1979 and 1980, a huge quantity of U.S. silver coins were melted. Many observers believe that large quantities of Proof silver coins were melted, further reducing the available supply of Washington Quarters in Choice Proof condition.

7—Low Price: The Washington Quarter in Choice Proof condition is currently available at less than $5 per coin, an inexpensive coin by any measure. It is within the means of even the most modest collector—insuring its strong future demand.

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Franklin Half	1962	Proof	3,218,019	.36169	27.50
Washington Quarter	1963	Proof	3,075,645	.18084	4.40
Franklin Half	1963	Proof	3,075,645	.36169	27.50

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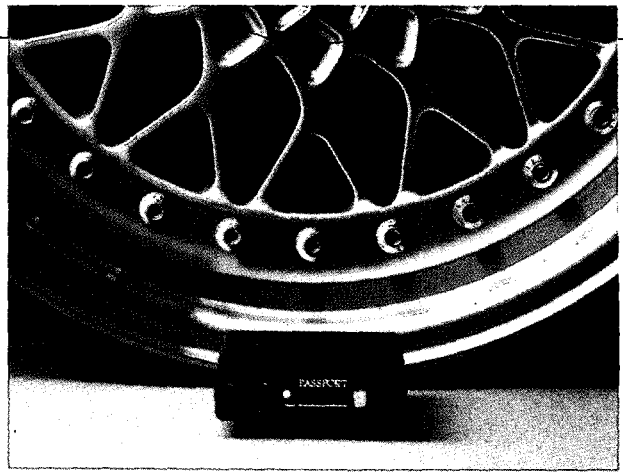

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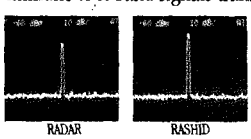

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Nextel finish: The alloy housing is finished in charcoal Nextel — a light-absorbing coating — to eliminate all possibility of reflection and glare.

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